# National Anti-Slavery Standard.

VOL. XXII. NO. 23. NEW-YORK, SATURDAY, OCTOBER 19, 1861. WHOLE NO. 1,115.

**National Anti-Slavery Standard.**

PUBLISHED WEEKLY, ON SATURDAY,

AT TWO DOLLARS PER ANNUM,

BY THE

**AMERICAN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY,**

At its Office, No. 5 Beekman Street, New York

AND AT THE OFFICE OF THE

PENNSYLVANIA ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY,

106 *North-Tenth Street, Philadelphia.*

Letters for publication, or relating in any way to the editorial conduct of the paper, should be addressed, "EDITOR OF THE NATIONAL ANTI-SLAVERY STANDARD, NEW YORK."

Letters enclosing subscriptions, or relating in any way to the business affairs of the paper, should be addressed, "PUBLISHER OF THE NATIONAL ANTI-SLAVERY STANDARD, NEW YORK."

ADVERTISEMENTS, 10 cents per line each insertion.


## Pro-Slavery.

In this Department we give place to such extracts from the Pro-Slavery Press, North and South, as serve best to illustrate the character of Slavery and the spirit of its champions and apologists.

### *TREASON AND MUTINY IN THE PULPIT.*

From Bennett's Herald.

THE day (National Fast) was observed by the whole people as fast day or festival was never observed before. But what part do the clergy play on this this great national occasion? How do they improve the opportunity offered to them of helping to save the country from the perils by which it is beset? Not a man of them exhibits any statesmanship; not one of these moral and spiritual physicians seems to understand the disease which he professes to treat. They hit upon every cause of our troubles but the true one. Some attribute it to this sin, some to that, and some to another, and some to all the deadly sins combined. But, to give one of the most active agents of Satan his due, Cheever refutes all their theories, while he fails to establish his own. He says:

"Our teachers gravely tell us that God is angry with us on account of our atheism, our Sabbath-breaking, our profaneness, our intemperance, and, in fine, every one of the sins that has characterized all the generations of mankind in all nations down from Adam, save only *the one glaring sin so peculiar to us as a nation.* * * * Nearly all the nations on the earth have danced, chewed tobacco, drunk ardent spirits, forgetting God in many ways, and profaned his ordinances and his Sabbaths; but we have no proof that God ever judged a nation with a desolating war or rebellion growing out of any one of these sins, or any sin that characterizes us, except it be oppression."

Beecher, it seems, was afraid to preach, but Cheever, who has just come over from England with his trunk full of British sovereigns, amply makes up for the omission. He is more impudent and audacious than ever. He maintains that slavery is the damning sin which has brought affliction upon us, as it brought similar judgments upon the Jews of old, though, if we are to believe the Bible, that institution was expressly sanctioned and provided for by the Almighty in the laws which he gave to Moses for the Israelites. This seditious, fanatical preacher assails the President and the State and city governments, because they do not acknowledge that slavery is *the* national sin—that which has involved us in civil war.

Among the most violent of the Abolition clergy who took the same ground with Cheever was the Rev. Mr. Sloane, who attacked the Chief Magistrate for his patriotic letter to Gen. Fremont, and denies him the credit of saving Kentucky to the Union, because, forsooth, that State had been always well leavened with anti-slavery ideas, and he had no doubt that "in Kentucky the cause would lose by the unfortunate modification of the President." Blinder than the veriest child are these pastors to the meaning of the political events of the day and to the signs of the times; and yet they undertake to dabble even in the details of politics. This clerical demagogue has the presumption to hurl his denunciations at the head of the President.

Of the same rabid type was the sermon of Mr. Thompson, of the Tabernacle, who said—"It is necessary to wipe out slavery from the South. While slavery exists our dearest rights are imperilled. It is preying upon our vitals, and must be cut out with the sharp edge of the sword." To similar effect is the language of Rev. Mr. Crawford, Rev. Dr. Vinton, and Rev. Dr. Tyng, the most violent of all, who describes slavery as "the most unrelenting, most bloody tyranny that ever cursed the earth," and insists that "we must press forward, in the name of God and humanity, to the utter extermination of the cause of the war." It was no wonder that a portion of the congregation arose and walked out in the middle of this tirade, shaking off their feet the very dust of the church.

### *SENATOR SUMNER'S SPEECH.*

AFTER the reading of a very superfluous string of resolutions, Charles Sumner came upon the platform, and was received with warm cheers; and, as he was introduced and went off into the usual anti-slavery speech, we could not help thinking of Mr. Wemmick's little cannon, touched off so regularly at sunset in "Great Expectations." Every year, as it comes around and brings a convention, brings out Mr. Sumner in full dress and a speech, which proves that he has sworn never to talk of anything but slavery, with, perhaps, a mental reservation touching himself. The "aged parent" is always present to hear the gun go off, and to express his delight with the noise. We could not but feel that Mr. Sumner's speech was ill-timed and out of place.—*Springfield Republican.*

We beg leave to submit that this speech, from this Senator, at this crisis, comprehends an abolition warning to the Administration, and a warning to the States involved in this rebellion. Mr. Sumner is supported in his views by an active abolition faction, extending from Massachusetts to Missouri, and with this faction an exterminating crusade against slavery is the all-absorbing idea. Let the President and his Cabinet, then, exert their energies to the uttermost for a speedy blow or two which will break the backbone of this rebellion, or we know not what may be the consequences to the Administration from the fanatical hostility of this abolition faction to the conservative policy of Mr. Lincoln. On the other hand, we would appeal to the Union men of the border slave States to turn out at once, and *en masse*, to the active support of the government, and thus restore the Union in its integrity, including the integrity of Southern institutions, in the speedy expulsion of the rebels into the cotton States. With the border slave States rescued, this whole rebellion will soon fall to pieces from its own weight; but every day that the rebels continue to menace Washington, to desolate Missouri, and to hold a threatening lodgment in Kentucky, the danger to Southern slavery is increased, and of a protracted and desolating war of sections, factions and races.—*Bennett's Herald.*

### *CRUSH OUT ABOLITIONISM.*

[Extract from a speech delivered by John B. Haskin, late Representative in Congress from the Westchester District, N. Y.]

THE day of the Bull Run disaster I was at Fortress Monroe, and there I saw the "contrabands," as they are called. I talked with many of them, and I could not hear of a single one of their race who had taken up arms against the rebels who have marshaled against the government their bondmen and their fierce and savage Indians. I very much doubt whether the four million of negroes, who are now steeped in slavery and abject misery, are yet fit for freedom. The President has proved, by his action in the matter, that he is a Jackson. He proclaims not only that the Constitution, the Union, and the laws shall be maintained by others, of whatever section, but that he will maintain them himself in every branch of his Administration. * * * * * *Let us disregard the theories* of fanatics, North and South. Only a short time since, Wendell Phillips, in Boston, on the anniversary of the birth of Theodore Parker, proclaimed aloud that he was opposed to the Constitution of 1787, and to the Union which has conferred so many blessings upon mankind, because slavery was tolerated. That was as treasonable a declaration as that of Yancey, and other Southern men, that the Southern States have a right to secede. I admire Wendell Phillips as an eloquent orator; yet I must say that for the utterance of his treasonable sentiments against the Constitution and the Union, he ought, as well as the aristocrat, Charles James Faulkner, to be incarcerated in Fort Lafayette. * * I see such men as Wendell Phillips, Lewis Tappan, John Jay, of this County, and who, in years gone by, obtained an ephemeral legal notoriety by issuing writs of *habeas corpus* in behalf of fugitive slaves, Goodell, and others of the Garrisonian abolition school, doing all in their power, like the Breckinridges, to distract our people. They ought to know that their declaration that the Constitution is "a league with the devil and a covenant with hell," and their anathemas against Lincoln and his Administration, may incite an indignant people to shout, "*A la lanterne!*" "A la Fort Lafayette!" and induce them thus to remove from their midst a band of pestiferous agitators (applause). We owe it to ourselves, we owe it to the country, we owe it to the Southern citizens who have remained devoted to the Union through blood and disaster, that these fanatics, North and South, should be "crushed out." In the South,

> Many dream, withal, the hour is nigh
> That gives them back their fathers' heritage.

Do not let them imagine that the North is abolitionized, and that Garrison, and Phillips, and Jay are the exponents of the Northern people (cries of "that's right," and applause).

### *THE ABOLITION FANATICS.*

From Bennett's Herald.

* * * No one will be at a loss to know who is responsible for so calamitous a state of things. Under the tutelage of an aristocracy in Great Britain, jealous of the success of American institutions, the Garrisons, Tappans, and Leavitts, of thirty years ago, began those machinations which under Greeley, Beecher, Raymond, Cheever, Wendell Phillips, and others, culminated in the creation of a party which denounced the Constitution as "a league with hell and a covenant with death," and never relaxed its incendiary efforts until the slaveholding States had been goaded into overt acts of treason. Northern fanaticism, fostered by British gold, and the discontent and rebellion in the South which it engendered, are the sources of all our evils, and both are still seeking, at the present hour, to reap the fruits of their iniquitous labors. * * * * * Yet, in the very midst of the inter-State quarrel which is engulphing such vast treasures of life and property, the two factions in the loyal States which, from the outset, have embarrassed the patriotic measures of the President, continue to throw every impediment in the way of the government, and to prevent the recruiting of the Federal army, by every means in their power. For this purpose, the rotten Democratic leaders of the Regency, under Cagger, Richmond, and their affiliates in Tammany Hall, have put forward an anti-Administration ticket, pledged to denunciation of the wisest and most essential steps that have been taken by the President, and calculated to sow the seeds of discontent and insurrection in the rural districts. On the other hand, such Abolition organs as *The Tribune*, ANTI-SLAVERY STANDARD, *Times*, *Liberator*, and *Independent*, are loud in their outcries against the President for not sactioning the illegal proclamation of Gen. Fremont, and are seeking to undermine by ultra-abolition, anti-constitutional ravings, the popularity which Mr. Lincoln has acquired by the firmness, fairness, and conservatism of his conduct. * * * * The duty of government is unmistakable, with respect to all of those who are seeking to shackle its hands or prevent the free development of the great uprising of patriotism that has been witnessed in the Northern States. The electioneering wirepullers of the Regency, as well as those who control the Abolition organs of the North, should be alike looked after. If Fort Lafayette is not roomy enough to hold them, there are plenty of other strongholds where they may be secured, and the people will applaud the check which will thus be given to the most subtle and active enemies of the great national cause.

### *PURITAN CHURCH INCENDIARISM.*

From Bennett's Herald.

DR. CHEEVER, since his return from Europe, has been laboring with might and main to accomplish the destructive ends of his patrons in England, from whom he received money to keep up his Church. Yesterday, he poured forth one of his customary incendiary abolition harangues, calculated to disturb the action of the Federal government, excite insurrection in the loyal States, and afford indirect aid to the rebellion which is distracting the country. The Puritan Church found itself, with its pastor, in such a dilapidated financial position some months since, that Dr. Cheever went abroad for the purpose of raising money to keep his establishment a-going. How much he obtained from his Exeter Hall friends has not been divulged; but he certainly got enough to entitle those who gave him their contributions, in order that his abilities as an ecclesiastical demagogue might not be lost, in the great work of undermining free institutions, and upsetting American nationality, to feel sure that he would employ all his energies in their behalf. He is proving himself to be a faithful agent of our enemies; but he ought, none the less, to be silenced by the authorities and shut up at Fort Lafayette, or elsewhere, where his capacity for mischief will be more limited. When Beecher, Cheever, Greeley, Garrison, Raymond, and others of that stripe, who are daily reviling our patriotic President, and sowing discord in the Northern States, are put under lock and key, the last obstacle will have been removed to entire unity of feeling and action this side of the Potomac.

THE PRESIDENT SUPERSEDED.—Drs. Tyng and Cheever, who seem to be racing with each other for the prize of "exceeding fanaticism," did not allow their tongues on Thursday last to refrain from attacks upon the Administration. Why do not these brave men, who have declared war against the Union and the Constitution, imitate Gen. Bishop Polk, and raise a squad or so of troops, to give force and point to their notions?—*Christian (!) Intelligencer.*

# THE STANDARD.

## THE AMERICAN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

### Restatement of its Principles, Measures, Object.

BY WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON.

IN the month of December, 1833, a National Convention of the Friends of Impartial Liberty was held in Philadelphia, resulting in the formation of the AMERICAN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY, and the promulgation of a "DECLARATION OF SENTIMENTS," signed by the members of that Convention, in which these doctrines were set forth:

"That no man has a right to enslave or imbrute his brother—to hold or acknowledge him, for one moment, as a piece of merchandise—to keep back his hire by fraud—or to brutalize his mind by denying him the means of intellectual, social, and moral influence:" and,

"That all those laws which are now in force, admitting the right of slavery, are, therefore, before God, utterly null and void; being an audacious assumption of the Divine prerogative, a daring infringement on the law of nature, a base overthrow of the very foundations of the social compact, a complete extinction of all the relations, endearments, and obligations of mankind, and a presumptuous transgression of all the holy commandments."

The plan agreed upon to effect the overthrow of this great iniquity was—

"To organize Anti-Slavery Societies, if possible, in every city, town and village in our land; to send forth lecturers to lift up the voice of remonstrance, of warning, of entreaty, and of rebuke; to circulate, unsparingly, anti-slavery tracts and periodicals; to enlist the pulpit and the press in the cause of the suffering and the dumb; to aid at a purification of the Churches from all participation in the guilt of slavery; and to spare no exertions to bring the whole nation to speedy repentance."

The animating spirit of the movement was declared to be—

"Such only as the opposition of moral purity to moral corruption, the destruction of error by the potency of truth, the overthrow of prejudice by the power of love, and the abolition of slavery by the spirit of repentance."

From the hour of its organization to the present time, the American Anti-Slavery Society has sacredly adhered to its principles and measures, as here laid down, which transcend all creeds and parties, all sectional rivalries and geographical divisions, and are based upon absolute morality, immutable justice, the Divine law, and human nature itself. Nevertheless, during that long period, the Society has been persistently branded and assailed, in every part of the country, by all that is powerful in the State, and by the concurrent action of the Church, by the press and by the pulpit alike, as a fanatical and disorganizing combination, undeserving of any sympathy or encouragement. Had its object been avowedly to encourage highway robbery, piracy, or murder, it could not have elicited more indignation, nor led to a more determined resistance! So thoroughly had the nation become demoralized in its spirit, poisoned in its blood, and crazed in its reason, by the all-pervading virus of slavery in the body politic! Yet, four years after the formation of the Society, Daniel Webster, in a speech delivered by him at Niblo's Garden, New York, recognized the potency of its moral agitation as follows:

"On the general question of slavery, a great portion of the community is already strongly excited. The question has not only attracted attention as a question of politics, but it has struck a far deeper chord. IT HAS ARRESTED THE RELIGIOUS FEELING OF THE COUNTRY; IT HAS TAKEN STRONG HOLD OF THE CONSCIENCES OF MEN. *He is a rash man, indeed, little conversant with human nature, and especially has he a very erroneous estimate of the character of the people of this country, who supposes that a feeling of this kind is to be trifled with or despised.* IT WILL ASSUREDLY CAUSE ITSELF TO BE RESPECTED. It may be reasoned with; but, *to coerce it into silence—to endeavor to restrain its free expression—to seek to compress and confine it, warm as it is, and more heated as such endeavors would inevitably render it*—should all this be attempted, I KNOW OF NOTHING IN THE CONSTITUTION, OR IN THE UNION ITSELF, WHICH WOULD NOT BE ENDANGERED BY THE EXPLOSION WHICH MIGHT FOLLOW."

Well had it been for the nation if it had heeded this truthful representation and solemn warning! Well had it been for the character and fame of Mr. Webster himself if he had subsequently acted upon these well-founded convictions!

For the first ten years of its existence, the American Anti-Slavery Society was chiefly occupied in organizing auxiliary societies, vindicating the safety and duty of immediate emancipation, revealing the horrors of the slave system, exposing and condemning the subtle scheme of African colonization, printing and circulating tracts, petitioning Congress for the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia, and making strenuous efforts to secure the coöperation of the various religious bodies in the land. It is true that, in the "DECLARATION OF SENTIMENTS" adopted at the period of its formation, it was said:

"The people of the free States are now living under a pledge of their tremendous physical force to fasten the galling fetters of tyranny upon the limbs of millions in the Southern States; they are liable to be called upon at any moment to suppress a general insurrection of the slaves; they authorize the slave-owner to vote for three-fifths of his slaves as property, and thus enable him to perpetuate his oppression: they support a standing army at the South for its protection, and they seize the slave who has escaped into their territories, and send him back to be tortured by an enraged master or brutal driver. This relation to slavery is criminal: IT MUST BE BROKEN UP."

It was not, however, till its anniversary in 1844, that, after long deliberation and discussion, the Society decided, by a nearly unanimous vote, that

"Fidelity to the cause of human freedom, hatred of oppression, sympathy for those who are held in chains and slavery in this republic, and allegiance to God, require that the existing national compact should be instantly dissolved; and that the motto inscribed on the banner of freedom should be, NO UNION WITH SLAVEHOLDERS."

As ample justification for this procedure, it was said—

"As citizens of the United States, we are treated as outlaws in one half of the country, and the National government consents to our destruction. We are denied the right of locomotion, freedom of speech, the right of petition, the liberty of the press, the right peaceably to assemble together to protest against oppression and plead for liberty—at least in thirteen States of the Union. If we venture, as avowed and unflinching Abolitionists, to travel south of Mason and Dixon's line, we do so at the peril of our lives. If we would escape torture and death, on visiting any of the slave States, we must stifle our conscientious convictions, bear no testimony against cruelty and tyranny, suppress the struggling emotions of humanity, divest ourselves of all letters and papers of an anti-slavery character, and do homage to the slaveholding power, or run the risk of a cruel martyrdom. These are appalling and undeniable facts."

But, worse than this:

"Three million of the American people are crushed under the American Union! They are held as slaves, trafficked as merchandise, registered as goods and chattels! The government gives them no protection; the government is their enemy; the government keeps them in chains! Where they lie bleeding, we are prostrate by their side; in their sorrows and sufferings we participate; their stripes are inflicted on our bodies, their shackles are fastened on our limbs; their cause is ours."

It was said, further, in regard to the all-controlling body of slaveholders at the South:

"We separate from them, not in anger, not in malice, not for a selfish purpose, not to do them an injury, not to cease warning, exhorting, reproving them for their crimes, not to leave the perishing bondman to his fate—O, no! But to clear our skirts of innocent blood; to give the oppressor no countenance; to signify our abhorrence of injustice and cruelty; to testify against an ungodly compact; and to hasten the downfall of slavery in America and throughout the world."

The conclusion being:

"We believe that the effect of this movement will be—First, to create discussion and agitation throughout the North; and these will lead to a general perception of its grandeur and importance.

"Secondly, to convulse the slumbering South like an earthquake, and to convince her that her only alternative is to abolish slavery, or be abandoned by that power on which she now relies for safety.

"Thirdly, to attack the Slave Power in its most vulnerable point, and to carry the battle to the gate.

"Fourthly, to exalt the moral sense, increase the moral power, and invigorate the moral constitution of all who heartily espouse it."

It will be seen by these extracts that the grounds for disunion, as advocated by the American Anti-Slavery Society, were: (1.) *Moral and religious*—the iniquity of the national compact, in certain of its provisions. (2.) *Personal*—relating to individual conviction of duty, and withdrawal from complicity with oppression. (3.) *Relative*—concerning the doom of the enslaved, with the Union as their enemies. (4.) *Patriotic*—the friends of liberty being treated as outlaws throughout the South for their anti-slavery sentiments, and thus warranted by the Declaration of Independence in desiring and seeking new safeguards for their own rights and liberties, as well as for those held in bondage.

It will also be seen that the course to be pursued contemplated no violence in any direction, no uprising by force and arms against the government—*nothing but the exercise of a peaceful, lawful, constitutional right of protest and reformation, using only the weapons of reason and argument*—FOR THE SOLE PURPOSE OF ESTABLISHING THE FREEDOM OF ALL CLASSES UPON AN ENDURING BASIS.

Ever since its adoption, the Constitution of the United States has been uniformly interpreted and executed, throughout the nation, in support of its alleged pro-slavery guaranties. These originally provided a slave representation in Congress, not for the protection of the oppressed, but to increase the power of the oppressors; the prosecution of the foreign slave trade for a period of not less than twenty years; the recapture of fugitive slaves in every section of the Union; and the suppression of domestic insurrection of every kind. All these remain in full force, except the clause relating to the foreign slave trade.

For more than seventy years, the people of the North have faithfully executed all the pro-slavery compromises of the Constitution; answering scornfully, in reply to the earnest remonstrances and solemn warnings of the Abolitionists, as did the Jewish people in the days of the prophet—"We have made a covenant with death, and with hell are we at agreement; when the overflowing scourge shall pass through, it shall not come unto us; for we have made lies our refuge, and under falsehood have we hid ourselves." At last, the prophecy is fulfilled. "Because ye despise this word, and trust in oppression and perverseness, and stay thereon: therefore this iniquity shall be to you as a breach ready to fall, swelling out in a high wall, whose breaking cometh suddenly at an instant." At last, "judgment has been laid to the line, and righteousness to the plummet; the hail has swept away the refuge of lies, the waters overflow the hiding place; the covenant with death is annulled, and the agreement with hell no longer stands." The Union of 1789 is perfidiously overthrown by the very class which fashioned it at the beginning, and which until now has controlled its administration. Eleven slave States have organized themselves into a Southern Confederacy, proclaimed to the world their independence, treasonably repudiated the National government, resorted to robbery on the land and piracy on the ocean, and now menace the safety of the Capitol at Washington with an army of two hundred thousand implacable enemies, who require as formidable a host from the North to keep them in check; and the end is not yet. Maryland, Kentucky, and Missouri are retained in a factious and unwilling connection only by Federal bayonets.

In this war of elements and breaking up of the foundations of the republic, when new issues are presented and the relations of things are essentially changed, it becomes the advocates and representatives of the enslaved intelligently to understand and clearly to define their true position, that they may not be tempted to compromise their principles on the one hand, nor give occasion for needless misapprehension and excitement on the other.

In the first place, it indicates intense malignity or inexcusable ignorance on the part of those who put in the same category the anti-slavery disunionists of the North, and the pro-slavery secessionists of the South. No two classes can be more unlike, or more opposed to each other, in spirit, design, and action. The former are for the immediate liberation of all in bondage: the latter aim to give an unlimited range and lasting perpetuity to slavery and the slave trade. The former are animated by an unselfish and all-embracing philanthropy, seeking the welfare of the oppressors as well as of the oppressed, and desiring to put an end to all sectional animosities and divisions by the proclamation of universal freedom: the latter are under the control an unappeasable selfishness, a satanic aspiration for universal dominion, an imperious spirit that would "rather reign in hell than serve in heaven," and striving to break down, as intolerable nuisances, all the free institutions of the North. The former heartily subscribe to the Declaration of Independence, as defining the origin, nature, and scope of human rights: the latter contemptuously trample that Declaration beneath their feet, and boldly give the lie to its self-evident truths. The former resort to no other weapons than those of entreaty, warning, and rebuke, meeting all calumnies with patience, all insults with forbearance, all outrages in the spirit of martyrs: the latter are armed with bowie knives and revolvers, and ready to stab, shoot, or hang any Abolitionist who may venture upon Southern soil. In short, the former are laboring disinterestedly to save the country from ruin, and fill it with the abundance of peace, by extracting the only root of bitterness: the latter are desperately bent upon mischief, and "full of treason, stratagems, and spoils."

"But," it may be objected, "between abolition disunion and slaveholding secession, the Union goes to the ground; and, therefore, practically, there is no difference between them." In a moral point of view, and with a due regard to the cause of freedom and humanity, the difference is infinite. The former is simple obedience to the divine precepts, "Ye shall not go with the multitude to do evil"—"Have no fellowship with the unfruitful works of darkness, but rather reprove them"—"Remember them that are in bonds as bound with them." It finds its justification and necessity in the truthful language of the lamented Channing:

"*The free States are the guardians and essential supports of slavery. We are the jailers and constables of the institution.*" * * * * * * * *

"There is some excuse for communities, when, under a generous impulse, they espouse the cause of the oppressed in other States, and by force restore their rights; but *they are without excuse in aiding other States in binding on men an unrighteous yoke.* On this subject OUR FATHERS, IN FRAMING THE CONSTITUTION, SWERVED FROM THE RIGHT. We, their children, at the end of half a century, see the path of duty more clearly than they, and *must walk in it.* To this point the public mind has long been tending, and the time has come for looking at it fully, dispassionately, and with manly and Christian resolution."

It is demanded by the honest confession of John Quincy Adams, that

"The bargain between freedom and slavery, *contained in the Constitution of the United States*, is MORALLY AND POLITICALLY VICIOUS, inconsistent with the principles on which alone our revolution can be justified, *cruel and oppressive by riveting the chains of slavery, by pledging the faith of freedom to maintain and perpetuate the tyranny of the master*, and grossly unequal and impolitic by admitting that slaves are at once enemies to be kept in subjection, property to be secured and returned to their owners, and persons not to be represented themselves, but for whom their masters are privileged with nearly a double share of representation. The consequence has been, that this slave representation has governed the Union. Benjamin's portion above his brethren has ravened as a wolf. In the morning he has devoured the prey, and in the evening has divided the spoil." . . . . . "It cannot be denied—the slaveholding lords of the South prescribed, as a condition of their assent to the Constitution, three special provisions to secure the perpetuity of their dominion over their slaves. The first was the immunity for twenty years of preserving the African slave trade; the second was the stipulation to surrender fugitive slaves—an engagement positively prohibited by the laws of God delivered from Sinai; and thirdly, the exaction, fatal to the principles of popular representation, of a representation for slaves—for articles of merchandise, under the name of persons." . . . . . "In the articles of confederation, there was no guarantee for the property of the slaveholder—no double representation of him in the Federal councils—no power of taxation—no stipulation for the recovery of fugitive slaves. But when the powers of *government* came to be delegated to the Union, the South—that is, South Carolina and Georgia—refused their subscription to the parchment, till it should be saturated with the infection of slavery, which no fumigation could purify, no quarantine could extinguish. The freemen of the North gave way, and the deadly venom of slavery was infused into the Constitution of freedom."

It is warranted by the radical sentiment of William H. Seward:

"I cannot believe that a being of human substance, form and image—endowed with the faculties, propensities, and passions common to our race, and having the same ultimate destiny, can, by the force of any human constitutions or laws, be converted into a chattel or a thing, in which another human being like himself can have property, depriving him of his free will, and of the power of cultivating his own mind, and pursuing his own happiness; a property beginning with his birth, and reaching over and enslaving his posterity. I cannot believe that that can be stolen, which is not, and cannot be, property."

And again:

"Shall I tell you what this collision means? They who think that it is accidental, unnecessary, the work of interested or fanatical agitators, and therefore ephemeral, mistake the case altogether. It is an irrepressible conflict between opposing and enduring forces, and it means that the United States must and will, sooner or later, become either entirely a slaveholding nation, or entirely a free-labor nation." . . . . "It is the failure to apprehend this great truth that induces so many unsuccessful attempts at final compromise between the slave and free States, and *it is the existence of this great fact that renders all such pretended compromises, when made, vain and ephemeral.*"

Finally, abolition disunion is warranted by the doctrine laid down by Abraham Lincoln:

"'A house divided against itself cannot stand.' I believe this government cannot endure permanently half slave and half free. It will become all one thing, or all the other."

Again:

"This is a world of compensations; and he who would *be* no slave must consent to *have* no slave. *Those who deny freedom to others, deserve it not for themselves;* and, UNDER A JUST GOD CANNOT LONG RETAIN IT."

The cry of "treason," so long and so vehemently raised against disunion Abolitionists by their enemies, proceeds not from any perception or appreciation of the cause of freedom and equal rights, but from traditional and idolatrous veneration of a parchment, or, more generally, from contempt and hatred of an unfortunate and deeply wronged race, whose sufferings excite no commiseration, and whose appeals for mercy are met with derision. Bad as the Constitution is, in its pro-slavery clauses, among the guaranteed rights of citizenship is the liberty of speech and of the press—if not without limitation, at least to the extent of any amount of criticism upon that instrument, in whole or in part. The framers of the Constitution, conscious of their own fallibility, and of the imperfectness of the work of their hands, inserted in it a provision for its amendment *ad libitum*. "They were not bold or rash enough," says Judge Story, "to believe or to pronounce it perfect. They made use of the best lights which they possessed, to form and adjust its parts, and mould its materials. But they knew that time might develop many defects in its arrangements, and many deficiencies in its powers. *They desired that it might be open to improvement;* and, under the guidance of the sober judgment and enlightened skill of the country, to be perpetually approaching nearer and nearer to perfection." It is, therefore, the lawful right of every citizen freely to criticize, and as freely to object to, any portion of the Constitution which he believes to be wrong in equity, injurious in practice, or destructive in tendency. Especially is he bound to protest against it wherein he conscientiously regards it as imposing unrighteous obligations and immoral duties, and to refuse to obey it, be the penalty what it may; for, in the words of Algernon Sidney, "that which is not just is not law, and that which is not law ought not to be obeyed." He may err in judgment, or be ethically unsound, or perverse in spirit and design; but his right to interrogate it, and to call its legal construction or moral character in question, cannot be invaded without violence to his citizenship. If he is honestly disposed, he can do no higher service to the country than to seek to perfect its organic law by denouncing what is wrong, and upholding what is right. Instead of this being a treasonable act, it is the duty of every good citizen; and, surely, the strongest motive that can be presented for the modification or abnegation of any constitutional clause is to show that it is inherently iniquitous. This is what disunion Abolitionists have done, as a matter of conscience, and for the sake of universal freedom: "the head and front of their offending hath this extent—no more." Distinguished for their pacific sentiments, they have discountenanced all violence and disorder, and sought their end only through a rectified public sentiment, by the power of truth. Even *The Southern Review* concedes to them no wish to transcend the limits of ethical reasoning. It says:

"We are of those who believe the South has nothing to fear from a servile war. We do not believe that the Abolitionists intend, nor could they, if they would, excite the slaves to insurrection. The danger of this is remote. We believe that we have most to fear from their organized action upon the consciences and fears of slaveholders themselves; from the insinuations of their dangerous heresies into our schools, our pulpits, and our domestic circles. It is only by alarming the consciences of the weak and feeble, and diffusing among our own people a morbid sensibility on the question of slavery, that the Abolitionists can accomplish their object. Preparatory to this, they are now laboring to saturate the non-slaveholding States with the belief that slavery is a sin against God; that the 'national compact' involves the non-slaveholders in that sin; and that it is their duty to toil and suffer, that our country may be delivered from what they term its blackest stain, its foulest reproach, its deadliest curse."

Certainly, they can neither desire nor receive a higher tribute to their peaceful disposition and conscientious integrity than this. The "dangerous heresies" which they promulgate may all be found in the Declaration of Independence and in the Golden Rule, and these in all ages have commended themselves to the reason of mankind.

What can be more unjust or defamatory than to class persons thus actuated by the highest moral considerations, thus true to the cause of the oppressed and down-trodden, and thus laboring to save the country from ruin by righteousness, with the rebellious secessionists of the South, whose passions are "set on fire of hell," whose crimes and atrocities outrun enumeration, whose pathway is red with blood and marked by desolation, whose treason is of the most malignant type, whose designs are of the worst character, whose perfidy and treachery and barbarity are scarcely to be paralleled in the annals of human depravity? In denouncing the course of these desperate conspirators, and in promptly refuting their lying accusations and exposing their deyilish machinations, the Abolitionists have not been behind the most zealous partisans of the government. Nevertheless, in declaring the government to be wholly in the right, and the secessionists wholly in the wrong, *as relates to the precise issue between the parties*, the Abolitionists abate no jot or tittle of their testimony against a pro-slavery Constitution and Union. That Constitution, could it be enforced, as hitherto, would still be "a covenant with death," and that Union, could it be maintained as from the beginning, would still be "an agreement with hell." But eleven slave States (virtually, *all* the slave States) are out of the Union, and over them the Constitution has no power. Theoretically, as well as sincerely, but none the less impotently, the government is aiming simply to enforce the one, and to maintain the other, in exact accordance with the original stipulations; practically, it is in direct and deadly antagonism with the Slave Power, to preserve whatever of democratic freedom and free institutions remains in the land. When, in all the Southern Confederacy, it is made a treasonable act to avow loyalty to the old Union, to rally under the star-spangled banner in support of the government, and to claim protection under the American Constitution; and when President Lincoln and his Cabinet are as completely outlawed in all the South, and would be as ignominiously dealt with, if caught, as the most radical Abolitionists; it is apparent that the relation of things has essentially changed, and a new definition of terms is needed. While, therefore, our sympathies are with the government thus situated, we believe that it will fail to restore the old order of things; but, even if it should succeed, it would bring no real peace or unity to the country. The same moral objections would lie against the Constitution, on account of its pro-slavery guarantees; a more vigorous moral agitation would follow, to put down which, by lawless violence, fresh efforts would again be made; and the same root of evil and source of division would remain, in due season to curse the land with fratricidal strife and civil war.

But two alternatives are presented to bring the present tremendous conflict to a speedy termination, namely: either to acknowledge the independence of the Southern Confederacy on its own terms, or else to abolish slavery throughout the land, by one comprehensive act of the government, under the war power: for it is nothing short of fatuity to suppose that a reconciliation can be made by any additional slaveholding compromises, or on the original basis of the Constitution. True, the government is still insanely hoping to subdue the rebellion, and to preserve the Union as it was; but, vast as may be its resources, and mighty as are its armies, it must fail, for it cannot change the decrees of Heaven, nor master events beyond the control of human agency. Unquestionably, the North and the South ought to be united in indissoluble bonds; but one common government is needed from ocean to ocean. Unquestionably, a forcible disruption of the Union, if successful, must be attended with the gravest consequences and the most serious difficulties. Under these circumstances, therefore, with rampant treason thundering with its forces at the very gates of the Capital, it is not only the imperative duty, but the glorious prerogative, of the government, under the war power, "in order to form a more perfect Union, establish justice, insure domestic tranquillity, provide for the common defence, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity," to declare the immediate abolition of slavery throughout the land, and freedom and protection to every loyal person found beneath its flag.

### *A SHORT WAR OR A LONG ONE?*

WE wish merely to present a practical question. We address the people—the future tax-payers for this war. The question is, Shall *we have a burden of two or three hundred millions of dollars*, or shall we have *seven hundred or a thousand millions?* Will you have a war of one year—perhaps even of less time, or a war of two, three, or more years, and even then a doubtful issue? It is not a question of theory; it has nothing to do with past political contests; it is a simple question of fact and choice. Will you—farmers, mechanics, merchants, clergymen, lawyers, and others—will you have a national debt which can be easily paid, or will you load yourselves and all your posterity with immense burdens? Will you have business obstructed, all civil pursuits blocked, industry discouraged, and blood and treasure poured out for one year, or for many years? Shall fire and sword ravage our fields? shall ships shut up our exports? shall privateers consume our commerce? shall war and civil wrath burn between one State and another for twelve months, or shall all these things be extended for an unknown period? Shall we be at once the pity and the derision of all nations for a short season, or for an undetermined length of time? A short war or a long one?—that is the question.

It is plain to all men of the least discernment, that a *Declaration of Emancipation* under the war power must make a short war. It secures us *four million* of allies—and allies so scattered in every county and district, that the Southern armies would dissolve like the snows in April—each company or regiment seeking its own homesteads to guard and protect them. If the negroes never heard of the proclamation it would secure us victory, from the panic it would cause in the rebel ranks.

But we may be sure, by thousands of agencies, the slaves could be made to know of it—by spies, by returned fugitives hired for the purpose, and especially by those unaccountable means through which now the negroes of one district know so well what is going on in another. Then the legitimate consequence of such a proclamation—the employment of black regiments—would soon be trumpeted through all the dark regions of slavery. All foreign observers and all unprejudiced home observers, agree that such a course would speedily end the war. It is true that some loyal men in the rebel States might suffer through it, but that they must accept, even as we do at the North, who pay and suffer for the slaveholders' crimes. It is possible, also, it might somewhat injure our cause in Kentucky. But the loyalists there could soon be made to understand that the nation would be generous toward the few faithful among the slaveholders, and fully compensate them for their share in the loss occasioned. But what are the few loyal slaveholders in Kentucky, or what is slavery, that our hard-working mechanics and farmers should take additional years of civil war, and pay increased taxes, and shed their blood for years more, that they might protect this infernal property? What grand service to humanity or to this republic has Southern slavery done, that we should be willing to let our leaders lengthen the war for years, in order that its precious prerogatives should be uninjured?

Let us have done with this timid, childish, technical policy, and understand the meaning of the times. Our people—our common people—must now everywhere press the government up to the crisis. They must *demand*—in tones which cannot be misunderstood—a Declaration of Emancipation under the war power, for the sake of shortening the war. Let the Administration hear it, through ten thousand presses and pulpits, from mass-meetings, from centres of commerce, from societies, and from individuals. Let a grand public opinion be formed, which shall sustain our government in so momentous a measure. Thus, and thus only, can we secure a speedy peace.—*Charles L. Brace, in The Independent.*

### *ACTION OF RELIGIOUS BODIES.*

[The General Synod of "The United Presbyterian Church"—a large, wealthy, and influential body—at its recent meeting in Allegheny City, Pa., adopted the following among other resolutions:]

Resolved, That while as Christian men and patriots we zealously and heartily support our National government in the present war for the maintenance of its integrity, we are not blind to the defects of our institutions, to the defective administration of law, and our sins as a nation; that we trace our present national difficulties mainly to slavery; that by this, and our other sins, . . . . . we have offended God, and there is no hope for us but in repentance and return to Him; that we recognize that our repentance cannot be acceptable to God, unless we, as a nation, break off our sins, unless we acknowledge Him and His law and providence, and ceasing to countenance this wicked system of slavery, use all the means in our power to carry into effect the law of the Bible, "to loose the bands of wickedness, undo the heavy burdens, to let the oppressed go free, and that ye break every yoke," and remembering that "righteousness exalteth a nation," and that "sin is a reproach to any people," in accordance with the principles of the Declaration of our National Independence, seek to maintain every man in the enjoyment of his rights as a man.

Resolved, That the Slave Power, by inaugurating this wicked rebellion against the government, has forfeited all claim to any protection or toleration

ever we shall see fit by words merely to justify their adhesion to the national cause. For all beyond this, we can wait if we must. God's time is always a good time, and we have no reason to repine over the slowness of the march of opinion, and will not grumble that apples do not ripen in May.


# National Anti-Slavery Standard.

WITHOUT CONCEALMENT—WITHOUT COMPROMISE.

NEW YORK, SATURDAY, OCTOBER 19, 1861.

CORRESPONDENTS will greatly oblige us by a careful observance of the following directions, viz.:

Letters enclosing matter for publication, or relating in any way to the editorial conduct of the paper, should be addressed, "EDITOR OF THE ANTI-SLAVERY STANDARD, No. 5 BEEKMAN STREET, NEW YORK."

Letters enclosing subscriptions, or relating in any way to the business of the office, should be addressed, "PUBLISHER OF THE ANTI-SLAVERY STANDARD, No. 5 BEEKMAN STREET, NEW YORK."


## PENNSYLVANIA ANNUAL MEETING.

THE Twenty-fourth Annual Meeting of the Pennsylvania Anti-Slavery Society will be held in HORTICULTURAL HALL, WEST CHESTER, to commence on THURSDAY, the 24th inst., at 10 o'clock, a.m.

The altered circumstances under which we are to assemble, and the changed position of the National government toward the slaveholding States, invest the approaching meeting with peculiar interest. Questions will present themselves for consideration which have never before claimed the attention of the Society.

Some friends of the cause incline to the opinion, that the mission of Abolitionists, as a separate organization, is at an end, and that their work must henceforth pass into new hands. Others believe that the Anti-Slavery Movement is only assuming a new phase, and that its continued existence and the faithful cohesion of its friends are highly important to its final success.

That the course of Abolitionists, as individuals and as a body, should undergo some modification to meet the exigencies of the times, is so obvious, that it has already been assumed, and in some measure acted upon. To what extent this modification should be carried, and what should be the precise form it should take, will be questions for the Society to settle at the approaching meeting.

That the Federal government—as between it and the seceding States, in the contest now pending—is altogether in the right, and entitled to the sympathies and support of all good people, are points which are nowhere mooted among American Abolitionists; but in what manner this sympathy should show itself, and how precisely this support should be given by people who are bound by conscience and their professions to use none but "peaceful and righteous means," are questions on which it may be proper for the Pennsylvania Anti-Slavery Society to make some official declaration.

A full attendance of the members of the Society is earnestly requested; and an invitation is hereby extended to all who are alike friends of the anti-slavery cause and of our common country now in peril, to be present and share with us in our deliberations.

J. M. MCKIM, Cor. Sec'y. JAMES MOTT, Pres.

## *THE FREMONT AND SUMNER TEST.*

WE see and hear complaints not unfrequently of the damage done to the cause of emancipation by the proclamation of Gen. Fremont and by the speech of Senator Sumner. Because they have given occasion to the false and the timid to show their treason or their fears, it is assumed in certain quarters that they have inspired the one and given just reason for the other. Which is about as sensible as blaming the hydropath for the existence of the present humors which his treatment hath brought to the surface of the body. The evil condition of the spirit of the one class of patients, as the evil condition of the body of the other, lay lurking in the secret places of their being, and were only developed and made visible by the skilful prescription or manipulation of the wise physicians. The act of Gen. Fremont and the words of Mr. Sumner have been merely the test of the spirit men were of—neither the one nor the other are responsible for the existence of that spirit. And this, far from being a calamity, is, rightly considered, one of the most fortunate symptoms of the national diagnosis. It was time that the preternatural unanimity of the North should be broken and men's opinions tried and measured, that we may be able to gauge the actual state of the public mind and its readiness or unreadiness for deliverance and safety. That proclamation and that speech cannot, in the nature of things, stop the formation of opinion in the Northern mind on the one side or on the other. They can only hasten and promote it, and it is according as that opinion veers towards North or South that the weathercocks on the pinnacles of the State, which can only obey that impulse, will point towards the Southern Cross or the North Star.

We are not surprised that many excellent and intelligent persons, who have not made it their business, as the Abolitionists have, to watch the operation of slavery on the Northern mind, are shocked at finding how hollow and rotten are the public men and political parties at the North, and how entirely the life of civil liberty has been eaten out of them by that consuming cancer. We, who have been on the outlook for more than a quarter of a century, and who have made this disease our specialty, are in no wise astonished or dismayed. We knew how utterly the heart of the nation's politics was corrupted by the taint of slavery, and how superficial and selfish is much of the energy which the determination of the slaveholders to have their country and its institution to themselves has called forth. The politicians of all parties, of course, abhor the vacuum which the loss of half the territory of the nation must create in the new materials for government which it is their vocation to work up for their own profit. The loss of such an influence as slavery out of the means of controlling elections, which are the well-springs whence flow offices and salaries, might well startle an Old School Democrat or a Bell and Everett man into an armed resistance to hinder such a calamity, while a managing Republican would as naturally shrink from the withdrawal of the element which enabled him to be carried into power by well-meaning people who innocently thought they were thereby doing something to repress it. The leaders of none of the parties, with a few most honorable exceptions, have any moral objection to slavery or any political objection to its partnership in the government. We believe that no more certain proposition can be stated than that Jefferson Davis could dictate his own terms to them all, if he would but consent to lead his stray sheep back again into the fold of the Union. Universal Amnesty, restoration of lands and chattels, compensation for all damage, assumption of the Confederate debt, incorporation of his army and navy list with ours, would be greedily offered as the price of such a boon. And we should be happy if he did not demand a reconstruction of the Union which should make every State a slave State, and put the press and the lips under the control of a slaveholding censorship, for we are afraid he would not ask in vain.

In saying this, we carefully discriminate between the leaders of the parties, the political hacks who make their living out of them, and the people of whom they are made up. Power and Bread are the two most prevailing baits with which the Enemy of souls fishes for the souls of men. We do not believe that the great mass of the people who follow in the wake and obey the leading of these men are fitly represented by them. The sins of such in this wise are rather sins of ignorance than of presumption. They really wish for the honor and prosperity of the nation, and, where they are not hoodwinked by their keepers or blinded by the dust thrown into their eyes by them, they see more or less clearly the cause of our troubles and the remedy. And it is the fear of the enlightenment which the natural intelligence and honest good sense of such may derive from acts like Gen. Fremont's proclamation and words like Senator Sumner's speech, that causes the frantic denunciation we hear of both from so many leaders and presses, Republican as well as Democratic. They have no fear of the government, as it now stands, doing the abhorred thing against which they protest—they dread the creation of a public sentiment at the North which shall demand and compel it at their hands. And herein consists the blessing and the virtue of such words and such actions, that they compel the great mass of the people to consider these things and to see whether they be so or not. And we are quite ready to bide the time when this good seed shall have sprung up and ripened into the harvest. Indeed, we are confident, not merely from the nature of things and the constitution of the human mind, but from actual evidence constantly coming to our knowledge, that the method of Mr. Sumner and the action of Gen. Fremont are accepted joyfully by the masses of the Republican and Democratic parties, and that hence proceeds the deadly hatred that is borne to them both by the wire-pullers and the trencher-men. If not now, they certainly will be, and will be the foundation on which future platforms must be built, if the parties standing on them are to prevail. This must be the dividing principle of parties in the future, in spite of the reclamations of politicians, if its defeat through their machinations shall not have made it the instrument of the division of the nation.

We have faith that the disinterested good sense of the people—interested only in the true prosperity and true honor of the nation—may yet prevail over the pro-slavery madness of the parties. No one, we believe, doubts the honest purpose of Mr. Lincoln to do his duty as he discerns it. But, we think, the nation already sees the glamour which slavery has cast over his honest eyes so that he cannot see things as they are. Else why the comfort which he has given to the enemy, however unwillingly, by his modification of the Fremont proclamation? The rout of Bull Run itself was not of so material an encouragement to Mr. Davis and his tribe, as that act. The one was a mere success in the field, allowed on all sides to have been a very narrow escape from defeat, which the small dust of the balance might have turned the other way. The other was a solemn proclamation to all Secessiondom, on the authority of Mr. Holt for Kentucky and of Mr. Bates for Missouri, that there was no such thing as a loyal slaveholder in either State! Adding, on the authority of Mr. Lincoln, the virtual assurance that their slaves should be kept safe for them, in case of defeat, to be restored by the Act of Amnesty which will be sure to follow the suppression of the rebellion! For no slaveholder doubts the fullness of the grace that will welcome the revolted States back to the family circle should the fortune of war go against them. And when we add to this strongest of encouragements to the disaffected of Missouri and Kentucky to join themselves to the enemy (and the command of every slave State lies with the slaveholders), the weakening of Gen. Fremont's command in the interest of his unfriends, so that nothing but a miracle of genius on his part or of folly on that of Gen. Price can save him from defeat and destruction, we can partly discern the disadvantage on which the conflict is carried on on the side of the nation. And in this state of things nothing can be more timely that such deeds and words as those of Gen. Fremont and Mr. Sumner, that so the Northern mind may be taught and strenghtened up to the point of demanding of the government the only policy of sure success and permanent safety and prosperity. If the people cannot be brought up to this point, or the rulers refuse to listen to them, then the lovers of civil liberty must look to the certain triumph of the rebels and the sure completion of their independence for the last chance of maintaining the rights of the white men of the North, and, at least, of withholding their own direct help in the enslaving of the black men of the South.

## *VAIN EXCUSES FOR DISOBEDIENCE TO GOD IN REFUSING TO GIVE LIBERTY TO THE SLAVES.*

BY GEORGE B. CHEEVER, D.D.

ON Sunday evening last, Dr. Cheever delivered another powerful discourse upon the Duty of the North to Proclaim Emancipation, and the Guilt and Danger involved in the refusal thus to obey the direct command of God in his Word. The house was crowded in every part, and it is said that from 500 to 1,000 people went away, unable to find room even to stand. Dr. Cheever took occasion to develop, to some extent, his opinion that the Constitution, properly interpreted, contains no sanction of slavery. Differing from him on this point, we are rather disposed to forget than to emphasize that difference at the present momentous crisis, the more especially as we are at perfect agreement with him in the moral principles that, in spite of constitutional provisions and statutes, should control the action of the government and the people. The Doctor, in concluding his discourse, took occasion to answer some of the objections so flippantly urged against giving Freedom to the Slaves under the War Power. This part of the sermon we are permitted to publish, as follows:

THE baseness of our course in resisting God's claim and demand of emancipation, and denying or ignoring our duties of humanity towards the enslaved, is marvellously illustrated by the objections urged against it. It really seems as if the old Jews were alive again, with their unparalleled impudence in coming into God's presence, and declaring, We were delivered to do all these abominations; it is part of our constitutional liberties. The opponents of emancipation tell us that the time has not come for that, nor is that our work, but God's; our business is to crush the rebellion and restore the Union, and after that slavery will die out; God will take care of that; it is not our business.

Now, I wish you just to take this reasoning and apply it in the affairs of life, and you will need nothing else to expose both its absurdity and its wickedness, remembering that emancipation is a debt that we owe to the millions whom we have enslaved. Suppose you heard a great and wealthy merchant, pursuing an obstinate, unprincipled debtor, and stating his case thus: "Here is a rascal that has carried off a bundle of notes and securities out of my office, worth I cannot tell how much. I shall arrest him and punish him and get my property back again, if it costs me all else that I am worth. That is my business. But here, on the other side, I am annoyed by a man interrupting me with his clamor, to whom I have long owed a hundred thousand dollars. To be sure, I care nothing about that; it is not my concern. He is dunning me everlastingly for the money, and says he is poor and miserable, and cannot sustain himself for the want of it. But that is none of my business at all, and I have nothing now to do but to look after my stolen securities. As to the hundred thousand dollars, if it must be paid, Divine Providence will take care of that, the march of events will take care of that, it is sure to come about gradually, and I have only to stand still and see the salvation of God in that. Evidently God's time for that payment has not come, and if God can afford to wait, I am sure I can. Hasty measures would be full of peril. The thing ought not to trouble me at all, and it would not, only that there's a set of fanatics who insist on the immediate abolition of such debts by the payment of them, and they will have it that I am a screw, and dishonest, and a hypocrite, and all that, just because I honestly am convinced that God's time has not come, and that my present business is to recover my stolen securities and punish the rogue."

There we have the whole picture to the life. Go where you will, you will hear just these excuses for not paying our debt to the poor slaves, for not abolishing slavery. That is not our business; we must crush the rebellion first; we are bound to conquer the rebels, that is our business, but we have nothing to do with slavery, that is God's lookout, let Providence take care of that, the time has not come for that, for abolition; but as to the whipping of these rebels, that we must and will do, and leave the other for God to accomplish very gradually, afterwards.

I need not ask you what you think of the piety or honesty of such logic, but who can say that it is any more honorable or endurable for us as a nation than it would be as individuals?

It is claimed that, according to the constitutional vested rights of the South, slave property is sacred from assault in this rebellion, though life is not. The slaveholder's life may be taken from him, but not his chattels, not his human stock. Observe the wonderful absurdity of these principles.

What climacteric nonsense, what idiocy, that we should be commanded to shoot the rebels themselves, and yet to respect and shield their rights of property, especially in their slaves; to do for slaveholders the work of their own hounds, to hunt and catch their slaves for them, and to restore them to their owners, and even to advertise for owners, when we are fighting the owners themselves to the death, and killing them as fast as you can come at them. We say to the rebels, "My dear sir, your life is of no value whatever. We would as soon put a bullet through you as we would through a deal board in your own entrenchments. It is, indeed, one of the first obligations of our government in this war to shoot you or to hang you as speedily as possible. But your slaves, as being your property, are sacred from invasion; their bonds are sacred, more sacred than your lives. Your life is forfeited and can be taken from you, but your slaves cannot, and our first duty is to protect your slave property for you, it having a religious and constitutional sacredness that you do not yourself possess, it being the first duty and the grand mission of our armies in this war to preserve and protect the vested constitutional rights of the South in slave property. As rebels you are our enemies, and we will destroy you; but as slaveholders you are our Southern brethren and friends, and we will protect your rights of property in your slaves, even at the sacrifice of thousands of our own soldiers. The vested rights of the South to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness, are null and void by this rebellion, but their right of slave property is more sacred than ever. We will ravage your cities, burn your villages, starve your inhabitants, imprison you, hang you, storm you with cannon, impale you; but we will keep your slaves in safety for you; your vested rights in the bodies and souls of your human stock are so absolutely sacred that their protection is to us a law higher than every other, higher than even the welfare of our own country, which we prefer to desolate, with the destruction of our own soldiery, rather than strike a blow at the sacredness of slave property. The crushing of this rebellion is a great duty, it is essential to the salvation of our country and the well-being of mankind; nevertheless, it must not be carried on, it must be deferred to the last possible moment, if it is to involve the destruction of slavery, if we must strike that blow. Let the rebellion prosper and decimate our armies, and desolate our country, rather than strike it to the heart through slavery.

Others plead that humanity requires us to refrain from obeying God's command in breaking every yoke and letting the oppressed go free. They aver that any measure of governmental emancipation would endanger the horrors of insurrection, which cannot be thought of. But is insurrection worse than the sacking of cities, the ravaging of provinces, the burning and desolation of homesteads, the hanging, shooting, torturing processes, which the rebellion in behalf of slavery compels us to pursue? Why does not your humanity shudder at the thought of inflicting these agonies, the continuance of which emancipation would prevent? And what are the masters all the while doing (these hordes of slave-traders now in rebellion) but just carrying on the worst and wildest insurrection against God and humanity, against Northern whites and Southern blacks, against the rights of all freemen, and against the domestic life, purity, and happiness of the whole slave race by millions, endeavoring to sweep the whole country with the horrors of war, for the sole sake of the perpetuity and supremacy of this systematized hell of sins and miseries, twenty years of which are worse than all the consequences of all the wars that have desolated the world for a century?

And what are these very opponents of the measure of emancipation, as being charged with inhumanities and losses not to be thought of, themselves, in the greatness of their benevolence, doing and proposing on the largest scale possible, but just the keeping up of a devastating, desolating war, to put down the rebellion; a war against the rebels, which, if it involves anything, involves all the barbarities and agonies of war on both sides! And they mean to maintain all this, and yet will not adopt the one measure of freedom to the enslaved, which would put an end to all this! They will continue the war, with all its horrible desolation and sacrifice of friends as well as foes, rather than admit the boon of emancipation, because, they say, this would involve insurrection, and insurrection would be savage and inhuman against the rebels and the sacred cherished institution of their social state! An insurrection would be so full of horror to their enemies, that they prefer to desolate the households of their friends.

A servile war is said to be so dreadful! And it would be dreadful in the extreme. But is it one half so dreadful as a civil war? And by what code of religion or humanity dares any man say that a war of our government and people against the rebels is any more just, of any less dreadful, than a war of millions of tortured slaves against their tyrants, a war in defence of themselves against the robbers, ravishers, murderers, slave-breeders and traders, that have bought and sold their wives, daughters, sons, husbands, as brute beasts, and desolated their households, turning them into a hell upon earth for centuries?

You might as well have forbidden our Lord's war against the devils, because it would drive them into the swine. Dispossess them of their human habitations; that is our duty; we are not answerable for the swine. Let them drive down over the steep places of this rebellion into the sea, and perish in the waters. It were much better that the whole 300,000 slaveholders were annihilated, than the slavery of four millions perpetuated, and the possession of eight millions more with this devil; for that would be the moral even more than physical perdition of the whole country, slaves, slaveholders, and poor white trash together. It was much better, as God judged, that Pharaoh and all Egypt should be desolated with plagues and whelmed in the Red Sea, than that the Hebrews should be kept in bondage and God insulted and defied.

Let us take God's part in this present conflict, so exactly similar with that, and let us make this war the most thoroughly righteous war on record, by waging it on God's principles of righteousness and freedom. Let us be thankful to God that we have a Constitution under the authority of which we must do this if we are faithful to it. Let us conduct this war in such a manner, that out of it we shall not only ourselves, by the blessing of God, come forth triumphant, but with our Constitution itself redeemed from those atrocious abuses and misinterpretations which have slandered and perverted it and us and the whole nation; our Constitution rescued from the tyranny of that band of pirates who so long held possession of it, as a privateer against the African race, and through that oligarchical dominion, intended also to enslave us. In the name of our God we will set up our banners, and, in immediate obedience to Him, blow God's Jubilee Trumpet, and then and thus the rebellion will be crushed, God will rejoice over us and bless us, our own rights will be secured, and to the glory of his great name, slavery will be destroyed forever.

Dr. Cheever will preach again upon the same great topic to-morrow (Sunday) evening, at 7½ o'clock, in the Church of the Puritans, on Union Square.

IN his Fast-day sermon at Washington, the Rev. Wm. H. Channing, Unitarian, gave it as his solemn opinion, that the reason why the Almighty has brought this war upon us is *that some of the Northern States have abolished capital punishment.*

We find the above among the news items of *The Journal of Commerce.* Our readers, of course, do not need to be informed that it was not Mr. Channing, but that notorious apologist for slavery, the Rev. Ralph Randolph Gurley, Presbyterian, who uttered the "solemn opinion" referred to. Dr. Gurley, it should be understood, numbers among his constant hearers the President of the United States! Having such a blind guide for his religious teacher, is it any wonder that the President's action in relation to slavery should fall so far short of the requirements of a sound policy, to say nothing of the demands of the Divine law? "Like priest, like people," is an accepted proverb. Why may we not also say, "Like priest, like President"?

BOSTON FRATERNITY LECTURES.—These lectures for the present season will be opened on Friday evening of this week by the Hon. CHARLES SUMNER, whose subject will be, "The Rebellion—its Origin and Mainspring." The course will be continued weekly by the following persons, in the order in which their names appear: Jacob M. Manning, George William Curtis, T. Wentworth Higginson, Ralph Waldo Emerson, William R. Alger, Henry Ward Beecher, Frederick Douglass, Ezra H. Heywood, Edwin H. Chapin, William S. Studley, Wendell Phillips.

## *THE CHRONIC HESITANCY OF THE CHURCHES AND OF THE RELIGIOUS PRESS TO PROCEED AGAINST SLAVERY.*

BY REV. HENRY T. CHEEVER.

IT has been a chief complaint in times past against Abolitionists, that they have defamed the Churches and the ministry by charging or implying that they were pro-slavery. It was only in June last that *The Independent* slanderously alleged of the Church Anti-Slavery Society, that "it systematically misrepresents and maligns, in its published documents, the ministry and Churches of New England," and the staple cry of the New York *Observer* used to be "The malignity of Abolitionists."

But in these times of common danger from a ferocious pro-slavery rebellion, many have thought this cry was spent, and that the hatchet was buried as against Abolitionists, in the presence of a common foe. But the old leaven of uncharitableness lately appears again in *The Observer*, stirred up apparently by the slowness of England to let her sympathies flow toward the North. This *The Observer* ascribes to the misrepresentations of Abolitionists. It first quotes from Lord Shaftesbury and the London *Record*, to this effect: That if the policy which Dr. Cheever advocates were adopted by the government of America, or by her leading statesmen, England would not have been slow to exhibit a sympathy which might almost have compelled her government to forget the dry rules of diplomacy, and go beyond the bounds of non-intervention.

*The Observer* then says: "The actual reason for the sympathy of England being extended to the South, or at least withheld from the North, is that American Abolitionists have filled the English mind with the belief that the North is quite as much in favor of slavery as the South * * * The effect of these misrepresentations is now felt to our serious injury, and those now who go abroad to vilify their country are the men who cut us off from moral sympathy, if not from material aid in the hour of our necessity. True to their mission, they continue to work mischief, and unless God interposes for our help, *they will yet be our ruin.*"

Thus at the very moment when there is a probability of the practical triumph of Abolitionism, through the demonstration of its necessity to our continued national existence forced upon the North, *The Observer*, true to its old instinct, so far from having a word to say in favor of legitimate national abolition, seizes the opportunity to revile leading Abolitionists, and virtually unites with the cry of *The Freeman's Journal* against the same: "We are convulsed and torn by that devil from the tombs, New England Protestantism."

It is not without good reason, therefore, that "A Presbyterian," in THE ANTI-SLAVERY STANDARD of Sept. 7th, remarks, "I fear that war, with all its dreadful effects, will rage for years in this land, for I see no signs of repenting on the part of the Church. While the religious press generally, to its credit, is patriotic, and in favor of the government in the struggle it is making for its existence, I see no manifestation of a disposition to acknowledge its guilt in bringing on the present state of things. It still snaps and snarls at the Abolitionists, and still refuses to denounce slavery as a crime against God and humanity, which must be punished with a bloody overthrow. *The Independent*, like Joab, still thrusts its poignard into Dr. Cheever under the fifth rib, and wipes its mouth as if it had done no wrong. Loyalty to the government of the United States is the only point the religious press has reached, as a general rule, with few exceptions. But loyalty to the throne of Jehovah—justice to down-trodden humanity, and a vindication of Christianity from the charge that it allows the sin of slaveholding, are ideas to which they have not attained. If a holy and just God rules this lower world, how can we have peace and prosperity as a nation, unless we undo the heavy burdens and let the oppressed go free?"

For proof that this averment is true, that there are as yet no signs of repenting of the sin of slaveholding or of complicity with it on the part of the Churches, take the late action of several of the Congregational bodies of New England upon the state of the country (the Maine Conference and New Hampshire General Association for instance), who make no allusion whatever to slavery as the underlying cause of the war, nor issue any call as from the Churches to the country and to the government, in the spirit of loyalty to Christ, to make an end of slaveholding.

Witness in like manner the refusal of the Churches, with but few exceptions, to take such action as the following, which, although earnestly urged by the Pastor and the Senior Deacon, was rejected by a vote of two to one in the Congregational Church of Jewett City, Ct., in the month of April last, just as similar resolutions had been rejected the year before:

Whereas we are "earnestly and affectionately appealed to" by certain sister Churches, to take action as a Church at the present time, upon the subject of slavery; and whereas the practice of slaveholding, which used to be regarded by Christians as wrong, is now defended by prominent ministers at the North as right; and whereas it is declared by the highest ecclesiastical authorities in the South, "that the Southern idea and the Southern conscience is—in immense majority—that the relation between the master and the negro slave, is as right in the sight of God as the relation of husband and wife" (Rev. Dr. Ross), and that "not a man can be found among us who believes that the traffic in slaves is immoral" (Rev. Dr. Thomas);

Therefore, this Church, although aware that its moral influence upon the country at large is but a rill, desires to record itself distinctly as against the dreadful apostacy which many have fallen into in regard to slaveholding, and it is therefore

Resolved, That in the judgment of this Church, slaveholding is the sin for which God has risen to judgment with this nation, and in order to avert the Divine displeasure, and procure a restoration of peace and prosperity to our guilty nation, we believe that slaveholding must cease, and liberty be proclaimed throughout all the land, unto all the inhabitants thereof.

Resolved, That this Church, unwilling longer to incur even the appearance of evil by seeming to be partaker in other men's sins, hereby solemnly declares its non-communion with slaveholding professors of religion as walking disorderly, and its refusal of fellowship with any Minister or Church that defends slavery, or refuses to bring its discipline to bear upon so heinous a sin against God and man as slaveholding.

This action was proposed and argued at length on the ground that slaveholding must be dealt with by the Churches as a sin and a cause of excommunication, or a bar to communion, before it will be proscribed by the nation as a felony. It was reasoned that this was but a fair application of Christianity to slavery. And the argument of Isaac Taylor was used in enforcing it, who says: "Slavery does indeed *exist* in countries where Christianity is blasphemously professed; but in no country does slavery maintain itself in which the gospel takes effect upon the consciences of men." But all was of no avail. The resolutions were lost, as they probably would then have been before nine of every ten of the Congregational Churches of Connecticut.

And now, in this month of September, still later in the great rebellion, when the national Abolition of slavery is so plainly a national necessity, and the enlistment of colored troops is so manifestly the demand of the hour; the Churches and the Ministry and the Religious Press, with a few noble exceptions, hesitate to say so, and will not press it upon the conscience of the nation, or upon its reluctant Administration "and powers that be" at Washington, who, as General Thompson of Sierra Leone vigorously expresses it, are all the while "cockering up the evil by refusing to apply the high-handed remedy which God and the Adjutant-General's muster-roll have placed at their command." The whole melancholy history makes good again the saying of Cowper—

> When God will punish nations for their sins,
> 'Tis in the church the leprosy begins.

The Churches and Ministry, it seems, choose to let the nation *drift*, if it will, into the true position for abolishing slavery, rather than to urge its abolition strenuously as the mandate of Jehovah, and as the providential privilege of the passing hour, offered by God himself. It will soon be known whether a nation professing loyalty to the throne of God can be allowed, under His sway, so to *drift* into what is right. In a signal instance of old, where a nation was thus left to *drift*, the result was this (as we get it from a book whose warnings seem to have little power now upon many of the professed people of God), Thus saith the Lord: ye have not hearkened unto me, in proclaiming liberty, every one to his brother, and every man to his neighbor: behold, I proclaim a liberty for you, saith the Lord, to the pestilence and to the famine; and I will make you to be removed into all the kingdoms of the earth, etc. (Jere. 34: 17.)

God will be true, though every man be found a liar, and though our executive head be so painfully wanting to the religious exigency of the hour as to refuse to write his name in the Cerulean blue of immortality, by withholding it from the proffered decree of emancipation to four million of slaves.

But to us it seems that a man need not be a prophet or the son of a prophet to say, that before we have gotten into the true position by *drifting* there, and before this war shall have wasted slavery away, conducted as it now is, it will have wasted everything else, and as one of your able correspondents intimates, it will have driven both the contending hosts to making terms of adjustment, as disastrous to freedom as they would be disgraceful to the national honor.

May God grant that through the speedy national proclamation of liberty and the national call for colored troops, this melancholy premonition shall not become a dismal part of our national history! BUT THE COUNTRY MUST BE STEADILY STEERED, INSTEAD OF DRIFTED, BY ITS LEGITIMATE NATIONAL AUTHORITIES, INTO THE PORT OF EMANCIPATION, OR IT WILL BE INEVITABLY WRECKED ON THE ROCKS OF REBELLION.

Worcester, Mass., Sept. 14th, 1861.

## MEMORIAL OF THE PEOPLE TO CONGRESS.

**"Proclaim Liberty throughout all the land, to all the Inhabitants thereof."**

*To the Congress of the United States:*

THE undersigned, citizens of , State of , respectfully submit—

That as the present formidable rebellion against the General government manifestly finds its root and nourishment in the system of chattel slavery at the South; as the leading conspirators are slaveholders, who constitute an oligarchy avowedly hostile to all free institutions; and as, in the nature of things, no solid peace can be maintained while the cause of this treasonable revolt is permitted to exist; your honorable body is urgently implored to lose no time in enacting, under the war power, the total abolition of slavery throughout the country—liberating unconditionally the slaves of all who are rebels, and, while not recognizing the right of property in man, allowing for the emancipated slaves of such as are loyal to the government a fair pecuniary award, as a conciliatory measure, and to facilitate an amicable adjustment of difficulties; and thus to bring the war to a speedy and beneficent termination, and indissolubly to unite all sections and all interests of the country upon the enduring basis of universal freedom.

☞ *Editors of newspapers are requested to give this Memorial one or more insertions in their columns.*

## *THE PENNSYLVANIA ANNIVERSARY.*

IT is not necessary that we should invite attention to the Call, published in another column, for the Pennsylvania annual meeting. A notice so important, and at the same time so conspicuous, is not likely to escape the observation of our readers. We cannot forbear, however, an expression of our pleasure at the terms in which our Pennsylvania friends have couched their invitation. Loyalty to the anti-slavery cause, and equal loyalty to "our common country now in peril," are sentiments cherished by all true Abolitionists, and we are pleased to see in this document before us, this fact duly recognized. Abolitionists make no blatant professions of patriotism; but, those who know them, know that their devotion to the best interests of their country, even to self-sacrifice, is not to be questioned.

As to the metting at West Chester, we have an impression, that, though it may not be so large, or so exciting in its proceedings as some of former occasions, it will be equal to any of its predecessors in the interest of its discussions and the importance of its results. We congratulate our Pennsylvania friends that Mr. Garrison is to be with them. No man in the ranks is better able than he "rightly to divide the Word of Truth." He blends, in an admirable manner, the wisdom and gentleness enjoined in the Gospel. He is just the man for the opportunity. Although having no other invitation than that contained in the Call, we promise ourselves the pleasure of being at the meeting, and partaking of the good things that may be going.

## *BUSINESS PROSPECTS AT THE NORTH.*

IT has long been the current belief among the commercial classes of the North, that our business prosperity depended chiefly upon the cotton traffic and the Southern market for imported and domestic goods; that the free States, in short, would be utterly ruined but for the immense profits accruing from their commercial relations with the South. Hence, when the war first broke out, croakers at every street corner solemnly declared that there could be no more prosperity for the North until King Cotton should be restored to his throne, and our merchants and manufacturers once more find their warehouses besieged by Southern customers. The war will be worth all its cost, in a pecuniary point of view, if it does no more than to expose the fallacy of this theory, and reveal to the people of the North the real sources of their prosperity. And we really think they are in a fair way to learn this valuable lesson. Certainly the present condition and prospects of the North in respect to business affairs are such as to give the lie to the theories by which we have been so long made the willing vassals of the Slave Power. Here are some extracts from the New York *Herald*, which our readers will need no help of ours to appreciate:

"Commerce in the North is already entering upon a phase, heretofore unknown in the history of America, but far safer for the future welfare of the country. *Instead of the insecure business with the South, by which our merchants have lost such vast sums of money, and* HAVE BEEN OBLIGED TO SACRIFICE FEELINGS AND PRINCIPLES FOR GAIN, a certain and lucrative trade is springing up, and we are becoming dependent upon each other, instead of upon strangers, while credit is curtailing itself within limits that exclude the possibility of those periodical monetary convulsions, that have swept over financial circles every few years with such terrific and destructive violence. Industry is reviving; the habits of the people are far more economical than they were before; extravagance is once more looked upon as a vice, and a source of national decay; and a uniformly healthier tone pervades every class of society. The Western States show a disposition to vie with those of the East in the establishment of manufactures, and, abounding in an agricultural wealth which makes them the granary of the world, they bid fair to be able also to undersell other markets in the fabrics which they have been obliged hitherto to purchase. Discord on the subject of tariff is thus likely to be banished from our national councils, between Western and New England representatives of the people, as the interests of both will have become identical."

"If any one had predicted, three months since, that commercial confidence would be restored to its present extent, and money be as easy as it now is, he would have been laughed at as a fool. The croakers had so succeeded in dispiriting the public mind by their gloomy anticipations that but few entertained the expectation that business matters would so soon right themselves. And yet, here we are in the seventh month only of one of the most stupendous civil wars that has ever distracted any country, and what do we witness? A revival of activity in all the principal branches of our manufacturing industry, which promises soon to place its general results on a level with those of last year; an excess already of $30,000,000 in our grain exports over those of the corresponding period of 1860, with the prospect that by next spring it will nearly treble that amount; full employment for mechanics and operatives of every description, those who have been displaced from particular callings by the first effects of the war finding good wages in other occupations created by the same influences; lastly, a plethora of specie, caused by the large daily expenditure of the government for war purposes, and by the fact that while we are exporting more largely than ever, and receiving gold for what we send abroad, we are retrenching all unnecessary expenses, and importing less than we did at any former period within the last five years. It follows naturally from all this that the alarm and discouragement which had seized hold of the public mind at the beginning of the war are giving place to feelings of renewed confidence and hopefulness, and that those who were cutting down their expenditures in view of the uncertainties of the future now feel themselves justified in returning to their former habits, and in amusing themselves according to their different tastes."

"It is a common topic of remark that the approach of winter brings fewer evidences of distress and suffering with it than have been witnessed for many years past. This is easily to be accounted for. In the first place all the surplus artisans of the large cities have gone to the war, leaving to those who remain full employment. The latter are consequently better able to support their families than when they had so much competition to contend against. Again, numbers of mechanics and laborers, who are accustomed to idle away half their time in bar-rooms and groggeries, are now, under the influence of the army regulations, becoming sober men, and are sending home their pay regularly to their families. The latter are, therefore, far better off than when they were at home with them. In addition to these facts, the impetus given by the war to the mechanical operations in which women and children are able to take part, will help to account for the absence of distress that is noticed. Altogether, the demands upon the public benevolence promise to be lighter this winter, notwithstanding the war, than at any former period within our recollection."

"The Custom House returns of entries and clearances, at this port, set at naught all the speculations of Southern rebels, and all the vaticinations of Northern croakers. According to both these classes, the secession of the Southern States, or an attempt to force them into respect for law and government, would be followed by the most disastrous results to the trade and commerce of New York. The idea of grass being allowed to grow in our streets was a favorite one with the fire-eaters of the South. But how is it being accomplished? Why, instead of the trade of this port being ruined or diminished, it is larger than it ever has been, even in the most flourishing years. This is shown conclusively by the following table, derived from the Custom House returns of the entries and clearances for the month of September, during the past five years:

| | *Entries.* | *Clearances.* | *Total.* |
|---|---|---|---|
| September, 1857..... | 257 | 238 | 495 |
| " 1858..... | 326 | 232 | 558 |
| " 1859..... | 290 | 229 | 519 |
| " 1860..... | 325 | 301 | 626 |
| " 1861..... | 391 | 368 | 759 |

"This forms a complete falsification of all traitorous and cowardly predictions, and gives most satisfactory assurance of the general prosperity of New York. These entries and clearances are entirely of commercial vessels in the foreign and domestic trade, and do not include the government vessels arriving and departing. According to these returns, the commerce of the month of September, 1861, was greater than that of 1860 by 133 vessels—an increase of twenty per cent.; than that of 1859 by 240 vessels—an increase of forty-six per cent.; than that of 1858 by 201 vessels—an increase of thirty-six per cent.; and than that of 1857 by 264 vessels—an increase of fifty-five per cent. The exports of last week amounted to over three millions of dollars—an increase of from half a million to a million over the average for the corresponding week for the last five years; and this, too, without any of that cotton which used to form the bulk of our exports, and without which New York was to sink into ruin and decay. If this be the sort of ruin that is to befall us, we would be fools to grumble overmuch at it."

## *THE WEST.*

*To the Editor of The National Anti-Slavery Standard.*

I AM glad to see so many articles in THE STANDARD, extracted from the Western papers. Do you suppose the President ever reads the Cincinnati *Gazette*, or *Commercial?* Or the Chicago *Tribune;* or the St. Louis *Democrat?* If he does, and still pursues his present policy towards the West in general, and Missouri and General Fremont in particular, he should be included with that class "whom the gods, intending to destroy," begin by making "*mad*;" or foolish, rather, for so the word *mad* would better read.

Three months ago, after a shivering panic about the matter, we were assured one pleasant morning that Washington was safe!! Ever since that time, at least semi-monthly, the Northern ear has been regladdened with the same delectable tidings. And yet troops have been whirled up from the East, poured down from the North, and swept over from the West, and concentrated around the Capital in all this time, until, if all its stones could be made bread, they wouldn't victual its guardian angels through a single moon.

And the West is soon to ask, in tones, I hope, of terror—What it all means? Is Washington, with its sixty thousand officeholders, the only post of the country to be saved? Must Gen. Lyon be sacrificed, and the brave Mulligan be captured, and Fremont be more brutally outraged still, that spies and traitors may flourish securely in Washington, and Jefferson Davis be President *in fact*, if not in form, all over the country? For who dares deny that he is more omnipotent far than Abraham Lincoln—as well in the North as the South?

And what does the safety of Washington mean, after all, except that a heartless, powerless government can eat and sleep there securely, with (according to the Congressional Investigating Committee) four hundred and seventy secession spies about them, to watch and report all they do? The border States are now the medium through which Jeff. Davis controls the President, and all besides. And the argument of all the border States is, that slavery will be more safe and eternal, under the old flag than under any new arrangement whatever. Remove that impression, and Crittenden, Holt, Johnson, and the whole of them, would this hour strike hands with Davis and all his ruffian bands.

Let the present order prevail much longer, and Washington may be safe from Beauregard, but a new and more formidable foe will appear in the field. There are those—and the number is rapidly increasing—who believe our greatest danger is north of the Potomac, instead of south.

Letter-writers from Washington now assure us, that the myriad army mustered and mustering there is arranging its winter quarters. I read, yesterday, in a Cincinnati journal, that all the houses there, great and small, are rented by army officers, for the winter; that their families swarm in already on every train; that every description of household stuff is in demand at fabulous prices, both old and new; in repair or out, in fashion, or out; that white servant girls are in more demand for hire than fancy or common stock slaves ever were in the palmiest days of Bruin and Hill; that trade, in some departments, is

# Our European Correspondence.

FROM OUR DUBLIN CORRESPONDENT.

DUBLIN, Sept. 28, 1861.

IN a corner of a London paper, I have just met with a paragraph, under the caption of "American Ideas about England," taken from the New York *Herald*, in which poor old John Bull is represented as being in a state of the utmost confusion and perplexity. He is horrified at the existence of slavery in the South, but still more horrified at the notion of any interference with it by the North. He deplores the present war, and would lament above all things the dissolution of the Union; yet he considers that the breaking up of such an overwhelming confederacy would make the American people less arrogant, and tend to the safety of other nations in time to come. He looks with apprehension on the maintenance of the blockade, in view of the cotton famine, from which he will suffer so severely; but he never had the remotest notion of committing such an infraction of the law of nations, such an open act of hostility against the United States as would be involved in an attempt to force the blockade so long as it is effectively maintained by your navy. He regards the cause of the North as identified with the cause of liberty, progress and civilization throughout the world; yet, while admitting the treachery and villany of the Southern leaders, he cannot see how the case of the South so very much differs from that of the thirteen colonies when they revolted from himself rather more than eighty years ago. He asks how you can expect his sympathy so long as your government do not proclaim liberty to the slaves; and yet, when Gen. Fremont offers freedom to the slaves of rebels, he objects to the inconsistency of withholding the same boon from the slaves of those who are opposed to the ambitious schemes of the Southern leaders; and he says that it will be impossible to maintain such a distinction in the face of its manifest absurdity, and that the government will be bound to make a general proclamation to all the slaves throughout the country—than which no crime could, in his view, be more stupendous. For what, he asks, could be more fearful than to let loose four million of semi-savage Africans upon eight million of Anglo-Saxons? He says nothing of "the horrors of St. Domingo"—but he evidently has this in his eye, and for the time regards the four million of Africans as all men, all semi-savages, all ferocious, all well armed, well disciplined, and well generalled—while the "eight million of Anglo-Saxons" are so many lambs, defenceless, innocent, meek, and utterly unable to take care of themselves. If "old John Bull" is to be taken as the representative of all the opinions of everybody in the three kingdoms on the present American crisis, *The Herald* has stated his case very fairly. The widest divergency of opinion prevails; and these opinions are expressed in all varieties of ways. I presume no injustice would be done to yourselves if Brother Jonathan were also made responsible for everybody in the free States, if they had equal liberty of saying what they think—without fear or favor. In *The Anti-Slavery Advocate*, which will reach you along with this letter, you will find an article on "American Mistakes about England," which very clearly gives you what I believe to be the most general impression on this side of the state of things upon yours. I do not direct your attention to it with any other object than as conveying the state of mind most prevalent here. The restoration of the Union is generally regarded by us as impossible. Admitting that the system of terrorism at the South effectually prevents the expression of unpopular opinions, it is difficult to assume the existence of an influential Union party from any information that has leaked out—as it would be sure to do, if such a party existed. But if it exists, it is extremely improbable that it can be based upon any other assumption than that the restoration of the Union means the maintenance of slavery—and if slavery is to be maintained, how can any Abolitionist or any true friend of the American people wish for the restoration of the Union? Does not also your past experience show that free institutions cannot coexist with a faithful guarantee of the right of property in man? But if the North succeed in conquering the South, what kind of Union will it be? Can you compel your neighbor into the observance of an offensive and defensive alliance with you by first giving him a sound thrashing? Would not this be, as a worthy friend of mine remarked in reference to this very subject, an excellent illustration of the *conjunction-disjunction*?

With regard to the blockade, I observe that *The Economist*, which is a very able paper and a high authority on commercial and financial questions, positively denies not only that the British government has ever made any movement to disturb it, but that any pressure has been brought to bear upon it with this view by the interests most vitally concerned in obtaining a free supply of cotton. On the contrary, this journal ridicules the reputed prohibition by the Confederates of the sale of cotton and tobacco so long as the blockade continues, on the ground that they cannot do without the value of those articles, and that to get the £50,000,000 sterling, which is their estimated value, they *must* dispose of them by some means or other. When *The Economist* inveighs against the abolition of slavery, by proclamation of the government at Washington, as a project so enormously wicked that it should not be entertained for a moment, that journal appears to forget that there were ten black men in the British West Indies for one white man, and that these were just as little prepared for liberty, by previous education, civilization, or humane treatment, as the American slaves. The only difference in the two cases is, that as the proclamation of freedom would be published by your government during a state of war, against the consent of the masters and unaccompanied by any offer or hope of compensation, it would be resisted by all the means the slaveholders could command—and would unquestionably lead to some sanguinary opposition. But the Southerners would hardly be so hostile to their former "property" as to attempt its extermination rather than suffer its presence in the shape of free laborers; and when things had settled down a little, they would find (as the West Indians speedily did) that freedom was better than slavery, and that slavery was not worth all the trouble it had cost them. Has any influential American writer attempted to show how the South can be reunited to the North against the will of the Southern people, and on terms of a faithful observance of the United States Constitution? And since, as far as we have the means of judging from the acts of the Northern government, and the Northern people, Abolitionism is far from being the popular creed, has any one enlightened the world as to the means by which the functions of government even in the free States can be effectively and harmoniously fulfilled, unless all guaranties of the interests of slavery be absolutely abandoned? It is impossible to deny that if the South be not subdued, two sovereign nations will stand where one stood before—that separate armies, separate navies, and decidedly hostile interests, must take place of the former union, and that very many inevitable disadvantages will accompany this state of things. But if the Union cannot be restored without restoring the slave interest to its former position of inevitable ascendency, would it not be the height of madness to admit of the existence of the disturbing element in any portion of the Northern territory? And is it not consonant with all the lessons of history, to expect that a people so energetic, industrious, enterprising and numerous as those of the North, would speedily recover from the evils which the war has inflicted upon them, and that having shaken from their shoulders the "Old Man of the Mountain," who has afflicted them so long, they would promptly recover their former prosperity, and would go on their way rejoicing as they have never rejoiced before?

I lately saw a letter from an English author and philosopher of the very highest eminence, addressed to a College professor with whom I am acquainted, in which he declares his conviction that no matter what may be the mistakes of the Northern people or government, no matter what estimate may be formed of them here, the cause of liberty and civilization would suffer terribly from their defeat, and that all who wish well to human progress must also be their well-wishers.

Whilst many of our most respectable journals are your hearty partisans, others affect a judicial impartiality, and some newspapers which have a large circulation are openly for the South. Amongst them the most remarkable is *The Weekly Dispatch*, a London paper, commonly called "the pot-house paper," from the large circulation it enjoys in the London beer-shops, and its advocacy of their interests. This paper is generally on the side of liberty, Italy, Hungary, etc., and is now loud in defence of the right of the slave States to govern themselves, and to maintain their own institutions. May not Southern influence be at work in London in defence of Southern interests quite as actively as the New York *Herald* has declared British gold to be diffused by the agency of "the British aristocracy" for the overthrow of slavery in America? In no other way can I account for the conversion of such a high-flying champion of liberty as *The Dispatch* to the doctrines which find favor in Charleston, Richmond and New Orleans.

*Liberators* and STANDARDS have come to hand. I am glad to see they both republish Gerrit Smith's capital letter to the President, which my friend Rev. Samuel J. May also sent me in a separate form, and I hereby thank him for his kindness.

I notice in *The Liberator* a Union war meeting, reported by my friend C. K. W.—a strange reporter for such meeting. The meeting appears to have boiled like a pot, and it was as dissimilar as possible to the Abolition meetings which used to occupy the columns of the veteran *Liberator*.

If you—meaning you Americans—cannot make up your minds to forgive us for the things we have not said as we ought to say them, and for the other things we have not said at all, and you crave, with the vindictiveness natural to our fallen natures, for something unpleasant to happen to us, I will tell you something that will gratify you. Owing chiefly, as is generally believed, to the American civil war, though two bad harvests and the unsettled state of Europe have, doubtless, had a share in the catastrophe—the times are very flat throughout the three kingdoms, and depression of business is very much complained of. My own impression is, that slavery is at the bottom of this state of things, and that if it had not been for the African slave trade, you and I, and all of us, on both sides of the Atlantic, would now be in the enjoyment of a state of unprecedented prosperity.

RICHARD D. WEBB.

# Our Washington Correspondence.

WASHINGTON, Oct. 14th, 1861.

TIMES change, and so do men, and especially newspapers. Last Friday morning I cut from the only Republican journal published in Washington, *The National Republican*, the two following advertisements, side by side:

RAN AWAY from the subscriber, in Nottingham District, Prince George's County, on October 8th, my negro man Aaron Weems, about 25 years of age; very dark complexion, full suit of hair, and nose very flat, fine set of teeth, and about 5 feet 8 or 9 inches high. $50 reward will be paid for his arrest and detention in jail, so that I may get him again.

MARY A PERRIE,
Administratrix of the estate of Edward L Perrie,
Nottingham, Prince George's County, Md.

oct 11—2w*

$2 REWARD FOR EACH HORSE.—Forty-four Horses. The figure "4" branded on the right jaw of all. Except one, which is a DARK SORREL. Any one delivering all the above to the subscriber's lot, near the junction of Pennsylvania avenue and the creek below Georgetown, or at his stable, back of Clay's Hotel, will receive the above reward.

oct 11—5t* J. H. DENNIS

I put the two advertisements—one for a man and the other for horses—as they appear in the newspaper, that the contrast, the business-like aspect of the newspaper, may be preserved. This is, you will remember, a Republican journal, and in a sense the organ of a Republican Administration. We anti-slavery people have been so long accustomed to quote *such* advertisements from slave State journals, that it gives one a shock to take them from a Republican newspaper—a good deal as it would to wake up some morning and hear that Beecher had gone South to buy a plantation and negroes, or that *The Tribune* had amalgamated with *The Journal of Commerce*, after the fashion of *The World* newspaper and the *Morning Courier*. As this is the first case of the kind, I put it upon record for future reference. A Republican newspaper, supported almost entirely by Northern Republicans, who are at present in Washington, publishes an advertisement of a fugitive slave and of a reward of fifty dollars for his capture! Truly, we live in an age of progress—do we not? At this rate it will not be long before a Republican Administration will distance Buchanan's or Pierce's in its devotion to slavery. But I will not be unfair. The Administration is none too good, but it has two or three sternly anti-slavery men in it, and its position on the slavery question will be satisfactory three months hence, or public events will not take the turn nearly everybody expects they will take.

A singular story is afloat in political circles here, and though it savors a little too much of gossip to suit me, I will give it for what it is worth. The story is, that Gen. McClellan is impatient to advance upon Manassas and Richmond, but that he is opposed vehemently by Mr. Seward, Gen. Scott and President Lincoln. It is further stated that Mr. Seward's policy is to prevent any great battle the present autumn or the coming winter, in the hope that both sections will by that time get sick of the war, and will be ready for a compromise of the slavery question and peace. According to the gossip I am quoting from, Mr. Seward has succeeded in convincing the President that it is better to avoid any battle this fall between here and Richmond; and that the President, fortified by the opinion of General Scott, will not permit General McClellan to make any advance with his army, or at least is doubtful on the subject, and will only give way, if he does so at all, because the young General threatens to resign his position in the army.

Now, it is quite possible that, before this letter is closed, McClellan may make an advance that will show that he has his way, but it will not necessarily prove that the story above mentioned is false. It *may* only prove that the President has given way before McClellan and the voice of the people. It is somewhat singular that while Cabinet members condemn Fremont for his inactivity, nothing is doing here. Banks and Dix are chafing with inactivity. Our army advances a week or two after the rebels advance; and to ordinary minds it would seem as if our great Generals had no plan for a fall campaign. A friend of McClellan's, however, tells me that a few days more will show us all that he, McClellan, *has* a plan, and that it is a magnificent one, and worth waiting to understand for weeks and months. Let us be patient. Perhaps it is true that we are on the eve of great victories. No one desires to see Bull Run repeated by the "On to Richmond" cry, though we all know that if any advance is to be made at all, this year, it must be made very soon. The roads will soon be impassable. After the middle of November, the roads between this and Manassas will be impassable to artillery, or to the ordinary baggage and provisions. The Virginians well know, and their object is to keep us off till wet fall weather sets in, when they can safely retreat to Richmond for winter quarters.

Mr. Potter, of Wisconsin, the energetic Chairman of the Treason Investigating Committee, has just been presented with silver plate by some of the loyal people of his own State. The occasion reminds me to say a word in praise of Mr. Potter. He has been very active all the summer, not only in ferreting out sly traitors, on government pay, but in watching the shortcomings of the Administration. Mr. Potter is an anti-slavery Republican, and believes that the rebellion can never be suppressed except by the extinction of slavery on this continent. As a radical Republican, he has exerted a wholesome influence at Washington since Congress adjourned, and has had many an encounter with the milk-and-water Republicans with whom the Capital abounds—men who care no more for slavery than they do for their souls, or for the welfare of anything but their purses. Mr. Potter has not found every member of the Cabinet ready to second his efforts in ridding the departments of traitors. Messrs. Cameron, Welles, Blair and Smith have avowed themselves ready at any moment to dismiss any man the Committee were convinced was disloyal. But Messrs. Seward and Chase stand a good deal upon their dignity in the matter, and the result is, that there are traitors in both the departments, especially in the Treasury Department. The Potter Committee has no power to dismiss traitors from the employment of a Secretary or the President; if it had, both President and Secretaries would have been obliged before this to relinquish the services of men they still retain. In one instance, Mr. Potter went to the President with his evidence against one of the employés in the White House, but Mrs. Lincoln was determined that he should be retained, believing him to be innocent of the charge, and she triumphed.

Senator Bingham, whose loss will be deeply felt by the anti-slavery Republicans, was another Republican of the right kind. He was the warm friend of Senator Sumner in the Senate. The two Senators sat side by side, and sympathized very closely with each other. Senator Bingham said to the writer of this letter, the last time they met, about a month ago, on Pennsylvania Avenue, "I fear that we are still to experience great reverses. The people of the North are not yet willing to do justice to the slave, and I am one of those who believe that God will not permit us to go back into the old Union with slavery." Mr. Bingham was one of the few Senators who urged the unwilling President to sign the Confiscation Act. If they had then known how it would operate, it is not likely that they would have either voted for it or have asked the President to sign his name to it. For the Confiscation Act is a failure. It really holds out a premium to rebellion among the slaves. What is needed in its stead is the declaration of a military commander in his department that slavery no longer exists within its boundaries. Here was Fremont's mistake. He should have waited till the circumstances warranted it, and then declared slavery abolished in the State of Missouri. Nothing else, no other measures will answer. Half-way measures are worse than nothing.

The city has been indulging in one of its periodical panics all day. A big fight has been going on over the river, and General Banks is cut all to pieces; any way, Banks is cut up, however it may be with McClellan—so the panic-makers would have it all the morning. It turns out that Gen. McClellan was expecting an attack from the enemy, and didn't get it; and that Banks's division has been perfectly quiet! But this false cry of wolf will not prevent the actual wolf from appearing before long. It seems impossible to postpone a battle much longer. If the rebels won't fight, the Federals must. Our forces are crowding slowly down towards Fairfax Court-House, and the rebels are retreating inch by inch. It looks to-day as if the rebels would make a final stand in the vicinity of Manassas, trusting to their good luck and skillful generalship for the result. If they are beaten, it will be a terrible contingency for them—but no more than for us if we are beaten. Another Bull Run will end the war by separation, unless the Government should instantly declare the freedom of the slaves. It would be impossible to recover from another great defeat, except by a total change of policy such as will electrify the nation. Great events seem to be immediately before us—unless it be a fact that the Seward policy of peace and compromise is to prevail, and even then the rebels will find it out before winter and attack us.

AVON.

## *NEW PUBLICATIONS.*

A RUDIMENTARY TREATISE ON THE METALLURGY OF SILVER AND LEAD, containing a description of the argentiferous and plumbiferous minerals; the methods of assaying them; and the processes in use in various parts of the world for treating the ores of silver and lead for their valuable constituents; together with historical and statistical notices of the two metals. By Dr. ROBERT H. LAMBORN, Cor. Mem. Imperial Royal Geo. Reichanstalt, Vienna; Mem. Acad. Nat. Sci. Philada.; Am. Assoc. Adv. Sci., etc. London: John Weale.

While our scientific acquirements are not such as to warrant us in attempting anything like a critical notice of the above-mentioned work, our interest in its author forbids our passing it over in entire silence. We have known Dr. Lamborn from his youth up. He is the son of our esteemed friend, Robert Lamborn, of Kennett Square. His natural aptitude for scientific pursuits, his studious habits, and his ample opportunities, have combined to give him a reputation, which we are assured, by those competent to judge, is well sustained by his attainments.

Dr. Lamborn has lately returned from Europe, where he spent three years in the study of metallurgy, mining, and other kindred pursuits, and where he enjoyed all the advantages of the famous school of Dr. Liebig, at Gessing, and of the College of Natural Sciences at Friburg, Saxony. Since his return, he has been appointed Inspector of metals and minerals on the Pennsylvania Railroad, and is now engaged in the duties of that office.

The treatise which Dr. Lamborn has just published is rudimentary, and makes no pretensions to research: but it evidently contains matter of much value to people interested in metallurgic studies, while a considerable portion of it will be found not without interest to the popular reader.

LITTELL'S LIVING AGE comes to us weekly, containing selections of great value from the best foreign magazines and periodicals—essays, reviews, stories, poems, etc. Among the many excellent periodicals of the present day no one occupies the same field as this, and certainly no one more completely fulfils its grand design. Boston: Littell, Son & Co.

## *OBITUARY.*

[Communicated.]

DIED, in Darien, Wis., Sept. 5th, aged thirty-nine years, Mrs. SARAH RIDER NICHOLAS.

In her decease the cause of reform has lost a tried and true friend. She was among the converts that rallied beneath the banner inscribed "*No Union with Slaveholders*," so fearlessly carried and persistently planted in Herkimer County, N. Y., by Miss Abby Kelley—now Mrs. Foster.

The genuineness of her conversion left no ground for the growth of that false expediency that is ever seeking to supplant principle and blight the beautiful development of Christian graces which are the natural outgrowth of that faith in the Divine, that in storm or calm, mid smiles or frowns, unyielding stands by naked right.

She, with her companion, was among the number who seceded from the Methodist Episcopal Church in Litchfield, in 1843. From that day to this they have never faltered, "choosing rather to suffer affliction," to endure reproach with God's despised poor, "than to enjoy the pleasures" and wear the garlands of a sin-sustaining brotherhood. Always ready to give the greeting smile and the word of cheer to the struggling few who have been willing to make the slave's cause their cause, she will be missed from the circle who have known her in her Western home. Together had they walked beneath the cloud, and together rejoiced in the gleamings of the breaking morn—but ere the full sun has arisen, and the jubilee trump pealed forth its triumphal notes, she rests from her labors.

"Weary she waited, like the ripened grain,
For the touch of the reaper's breath,
Until there came a rapturous strain
Floating over the river of death;
She heard the low music, so solemn and grand,
Nor heeded the eddying tide,
For she caught a gleam of the forms that stand
By the stream on the other side."

## *THE TWENTY-SIXTH*

## Pennsylvania Anti-Slavery Fair and National Bazaar.

THIS Fair will be held in the city of Philadelphia, in the month of December, 1861. It is the purpose of its managers to conduct it in a manner suited to the exigencies of the present times, diminishing, as far as possible, its expenses, and furnishing it with such articles as command a sale even in seasons of commercial embarrassment. We deem it necessary to remind the friends of the anti-slavery cause in Pennsylvania that an unusual effort will this year be required for the replenishment of our treasury. In seasons of pecuniary embarrassment, resulting from any cause, Anti-Slavery Societies, as all others, must suffer some diminution of their supplies: but the long-tried fidelity and zeal of the Pennsylvania Abolitionists inspires us with confidence in our appeal to them to meet an unusual demand with unusual energy.

Our thirty years' war for freedom *seems* about to culminate in victory. But many a battle has been lost by too much haste in accounting it won. Until its proclamation of liberty to the slaves proves that this nation has discovered, and is willing to acknowledge, the real cause and only true remedy for the Southern rebellion and consequent civil war, the American Abolitionists will continue to hold their solemn responsibility to the slave, and to the country. Until such proclamation shall usher in the jubilee, our work will not be done. But working as we now are, with the end almost in sight, extraordinary effort for its consummation becomes easy.

With this view of our cause, we ask our coadjutors in Pennsylvania, New Jersey and Delaware to put their hands once more to the work of conducting our Annual Fair with the energy and wisdom which the exigencies of the hour demand; not doubting that they who, through the long years of our conflict, have stood firm in heart and hope and faith, will wield their weapons faithfully, unto the end.

| | |
|---|---|
| Sarah Pugh, | Huldah Justice, |
| Margaret J. Burleigh, | Anna R. Justice, |
| Anna M. Child, | Sarah Kenderdine, |
| Ellen M. Child, | Abby Kimber, |
| Sarah L. Child, | Martha Kimber, |
| Elizabeth Clendennon, | Lucretia Mott, |
| Maria Conklin, | Sarah A. McKim, |
| Agnes Crain, | Emma Parker, |
| Maria M. Davis, | Sarah H. Peirce, |
| Margaretta Forten, | Ruth Anna Peirce, |
| Martha A. Galvin, | Rebecca Plumly, |
| Lydia Gillingham, | Harriet D. Purvis, |
| Sarah K. Gillingham, | Mary Shaw, |
| Mary Grew, | Susan W. Shaw, |
| Margaret A. Griscom, | Annie Shoemaker, |
| Sarah C. Hallowell, | Martha Shoemaker, |
| Rebecca S. Hart, | Mary T. Stickney, |
| Anna M. Hopper, | Hannah L. Stickney, |
| Jennette Jackson, | Emily W. Taylor, |
| Clementina G. John, | Rosanna Thompson, |
| Gulielma M. Jones, | Lydia White, |

Rachel Wilson.

TRACT FOR THE DAY.—"The War and Slavery; or, Victory only through Emancipation," is the title of a tract of 8 pages, just published at this office. It is a reprint of an excellent article, from the pen of D. PLUMB, which appeared in this paper a few weeks since, and which leading friends of the cause deem worthy of the widest circulation at the present crisis. It is not for sale, but for gratuitous distribution. Friends of the cause, who know where light is needed and would be welcomed in respect to the duty and policy of Emancipation under the War Power, are requested to call at this office at once and take as many copies as they can distribute judiciously.

NOTICE.—Mrs. H. F. M. BROWN, Cleveland, Ohio, is an Agent for THE ANTI-SLAVERY STANDARD; and is fully authorized to receive new subscriptions to the same, as well as payments on old accounts. Mrs. Brown's address is 288 Superior street.

# Chronicles of the War.

### A Contest at Hand.

From the Tribune of Wednesday.

Without claiming to have official or detailed information of the approaching movement of the national army of the Potomac, we may assure our readers that the great contest is indeed close at hand. It is impossible to say with accuracy when it will begin, but it must be within comparatively a few days. Our army now stands so that a single intelligent glance shows its attitude to be one preceding offensive movements. If the projected naval expeditions and the forward step of the army should be simultaneous, the effect can but be crushing. However it may be as to this concert of action, there need be no doubt about the operations of the army, and hardly anything short of a miracle can delay our speedy advance.

### Rebel Report from New Orleans.

G. N. Hollins, of Greytown notoriety, long a disgrace to our navy, and now an incubus upon that of the rebels, has performed another characteristically brave and dashing exploit, according to the Norfolk papers, which have dispatches from New Orleans. It has long been known that seven or eight United States vessels were in the vicinity of New Orleans, threatening the approaches to that city through the branches of the Mississippi, four of which discharge respectively through what are called Passes. At the head of these Passes a naval engagement is said to have taken place on the 11th inst. The dispatch of Hollins states that he drove the national vessels on shore and captured all except one, which he sunk. This statement of the case is undoubtedly a lie, but one remark of the bold Hollins may be believed, it being strictly in accordance with his character. He says, "When they were fast in the sand I peppered them well." We may conclude from this, and from what is known of the frequent fate of vessels in that locality, that our fleet was forced ashore upon a sand bar at the mouth of the South-West Pass by the weather, and that the heroic Hollins, finding the enemy quite disabled and unable to make any suitable return, went down from Fort Jackson, a short distance up the river, and, to use his own spirited phrase, "peppered them well." We wait with interest for information from a more respectable source than this.

### A Daring Exploit.

On Friday morning, 11th inst., before light, Lieut. Harrell of the United States steamer Union, at Acquia Creek, having heard that a rebel schooner was lying in Quantico Creek, and knowing that a large number of troops were collected at that point with the probable design of crossing the Potomac, set out with his boat and two launches for the purpose of burning her. As the little force neared the vessel the sentinel in charge of her fled, giving the alarm. The light furniture was collected in the cabin, and the vessel was fired. The flames enabled the enemy to see the retiring boats, and a sharp fire was directed toward them; the boats were repeatedly hit, and even the clothes of the men were perforated, but no one was hurt. The schooner was completely destroyed.

### Gen. Fremont and the Administration.

The Secretary of War has returned from his visit to General Fremont's headquarters, and will now be able to act intelligently upon the various matters urged against the General's management of military affairs in that department. So far as appears, no steps have been taken toward interfering in any way with General Fremont's command, nor is there any authentic intimation that a court-martial will be ordered to investigate the allegations of Col Blair against him. *The Times* thinks it altogether likely that the proceedings will be dropped in the case of both these officers, and that whatever action the Administration may resolve upon will be taken without regard to the complaints of either against the other.

### The Contest in Missouri.

A variety of information is published in the St. Louis papers concerning the movements of the rebel General Price, but they give us no clue to his plans. His army is now reported to be about one hundred miles south of Fremont's force. The latter, according to the St. Louis *Democrat*, had advanced on the 12th inst. beyond Tipton, and was in swift pursuit. The report that Price and McCulloch had joined their forces, is contradicted by the statement that such a junction was expected by the rebels to take place at Sac River. This could not occur till about the 20th inst., before which time it was fully expected Fremont would compel a battle.

In the absence of any news of the movements of Gen. Fremont's army in Missouri, we are consoled with the report of a fight which took place on the 27th ult., near Shanghai, in Barton County, between a body of Kansas troops under Montgomery and Jamison, and the advance guard of Ben. McCulloch's army, assisted by some of Jackson's State guards. The rebels are said to have been defeated with considerable loss, and pursued forty miles. Great alarm was felt by the rebels at Springfield, lest Montgomery should attack that place. It is also reported that the Thirteenth Illinois Regiment, under Gen. Wyman, had surprised and captured Lebanon, in Laclerc County, with all the stores and provisions of the rebels: but the report requires confirmation. Lebanon is fifty miles north-east of Springfield, in the direction of Jefferson City.

Thirty armed rebels on Monday stopped a train on the North Missouri Railroad at Renwick, and arrested six national recruiting officers. They then proceeded to search the train, but did not find three hundred Enfield rifles and two tons of military clothing, destined for Nebraska, which were in the Express car.

### Fight near Fort Pickens.

The Norfolk (Va.) *Day Book* of a recent date contains dispatches from New Orleans, to the effect that on the 8th inst. a thousand rebels crossed over from the main land to Santa Rosa Island, on which Fort Pickens is situated, and made a desperate attack on Wilson's Zouaves, who were encamped there. The rebels comprised detachments from several Mississippi, Louisiana, Georgia, and Alabama regiments, under the command of a Gen. Anderson. What the result of this fight was, is not clear; the dispatches referred to state that Wilson's pickets were driven in, and that his camp was stormed for an hour, he losing most of his tents, having a large quantity of rations, equipments, ammunition, etc., captured, and having all his guns spiked; the account makes the loss among his men heavy, but gives no particulars; it admits, however, on the rebel side, a loss of forty killed and twice as many wounded. It is almost certain that this narrative is incorrect; for at the latest accounts Wilson had no artillery at all, and it is thought that none had been supplied to him; the nature of his defences, moreover, was such that a force like that of the rebels would hardly have been able to overcome them—certainly not in the short time stated. The dispatches which furnish this news admit that Wilson's men displayed great bravery.

### Rebel Batteries on the Potomac.

On Tuesday morning the Pocahontas, steaming down the Potomac, by a few random shots woke up a number of rebel batteries just after passing Shipping Point, ten miles below Indian Head. These batteries fired upon the Seminole which not long after followed the Pocahontas down. The firing continued for an hour, and as many as sixty shot and shell were thrown. The damage on either side is not yet known. The camp fires of the rebels along the banks of the Potomac in the vicinity of Acquia Creek have been frequently seen of late, and it was known that they had concealed a number of heavy guns which have never been heard from.

### Sequestered Estates in Virginia.

Since the 30th of September, estates and property valued at $800,000 have been confiscated in Virginia. Among those who have thus suffered are the following:

Auguste Belmont, of New York, 800 hogsheads of tobacco, valued at $280,000; firm of Woods, Lowry & Farrant, of Norfolk; C. M. Fry & Co., of New York; Chickering & Sons, piano manufacturers, through their Richmond agent; an estate of 800 acres, fully stocked with negroes, live stock, etc., owned by Wm. C. Rives, Jr., of Boston; an estate of 800 acres, with a full stock of negroes, etc., belonging to Francis Rives, of New York city; and an estate of 800 acres, stocked with negroes, etc., the property of Mr. Sigourney, of New York city. Agents have been appointed to take care of these estates.

A petition has been filed for the sequestration of "Monticello," the former home of Jefferson, now owned by Uriah P. Levy, a Captain in the U. S. Navy, and occupied by his brother, who is alleged to be disaffected towards the Confederate government. The estate comprises 360 acres of land in Albermarle County, assessed at $20 per acre, together with improvements valued at $2,800; besides this there is another tract of 960 acres, with sheep, niggers, hogs, and a lot of household and kitchen furniture.

The rebels, less scrupulous than President Lincoln, do not hesitate, it will be seen, to confiscate the slave property of their whilom friends at the North.

### "Our Jessie."

Mrs. Fremont is in camp with the General, but will return to St. Louis when he moves forward. The "Jessie" whose name was so familiar six years ago, has three children—the eldest a daughter of 15, in whose honor Camp Lillie is named; but hers is one of the natures that do not grow old. Inheriting her father's talent and many salient points of his character, she impresses all who come in contact with her, by her great intellectual power. See her, as you might have done a few weeks ago, with all the blood of all the Bentons roused within her at the gross injustice done to her husband, and you would say: "Nature made her for a queen; had she inherited a throne, what a record she would have made in history!" In the winter of 1849, when the frontier of civilization was seven hundred miles further east than now, she was about to join her chief, upon the great plains. It is said that when a very decorous fossil from Keokuk, Iowa, whose name is familiar to *Tribune* readers, asked her, "Are you not afraid to take that perilous journey at this inclement season?" She startled his nerves with the reply: "Afraid, sir! Do you suppose that the daughter of Col. Benton and the wife of Captain Fremont is *afraid*?"

With a peculiar grace of movement, she possesses that "excellent thing in woman," a voice, like Annie Laurie's, low and sweet—more rich, more musical, and better modulated than that of any tragedienne upon the stage. To a broad, comprehensive, masculine intellect, she adds the quick, feminine intuitions which leap to results and anticipate explanations, and that inevitable tendency to episode, incident, and bits of personal analyzation which contribute so largely to the charm of a woman's conversation. It is easy to see that there inhere in her great possibilities of heroism; that for a cause she held sacred she would not only make the uttermost sacrifice, but say with Cleopatra,

"Let's do it in the high Roman fashion,
And make Death proud to take us."

A lady, in the best sense of the word; of ripe accomplisment and large culture; a rare conversationalist, overflowing with humor and sparkling with epigram; a star in society, but the sun of that home-circle where she has garnered up her heart; an uncompromising friend and a "good hater"; an enthusiastic believer in the destiny of her husband, an invaluable assistant in his arduous labors, yet full of wifely and motherly tenderness. Jessie Benton Fremont is not only an historic woman, but the greatest woman in America. —*Missouri Cor. Tribune.*

### Release of Rebel Prisoners.

A general order from the headquarters of the army states that whereas 57 of the United States soldiers lately imprisoned at Richmond have been released on parole, an equal number of rebel prisoners from Washington, Forts Columbus and Lafayette, will be set free on taking the oath of allegiance.

# "SABLE CLOUDS."

SAD INCIDENT.—Two or three days since, a slave boy, seven years of age, was carried back to bondage from the vicinity of Fortress Monroe, by his mistress, who claimed to be a loyal resident of Baltimore. Has America no soil on which the whilom bondman can feel assured of his freedom? This to me, and many of us, was an incident sadder even than death itself. I pray that it may not lead to more reclamations from a spot we believed so free from the taint of the slave-hunter's foot.—*Cor. Boston Journal, Fortress Monroe, Sept.* 30.

SLAVERY IN MISSOURI.—The correspondent of the St. Louis *Republican*, writing from Hermann, Mo., Oct. 8, says: "That is coming to pass which I predicted months ago as a necessary consequence of secession and military occupation. Secession slaveholders by the thousand, with their negroes, will precede, accompany, and follow Price's army, and if the way remains open there will be such a slave exodus from Missouri this fall as was never heard of before. I have just seen a gentleman from Springfield who informs me that trains of waggons loaded with household goods and two-legged chattels pass through that town every day on their way to Dixie. One day last week one hundred and fifty negroes passed through Lawrence County in a single company." . . . . "The Southern exodus of the sons of Ham is only the beginning of the end in Missouri. No one doubts as to the inevitable result. Yet our secession friends have been warned again and again, during the past year, that the only safety for Missouri slaveholders was in the Union. They would not be warned or advised, but rushed madly into the rebellion, and when it is too late they see the consequences. They have sowed the wind, and are now reaping the whirlwind. Missouri is passing through an ordeal of blood and fire. Our only hope is that it may be brief, and bring her out all steel."

FUGITIVE SLAVES IN THE WASHINGTON JAIL.—There are some facts connected with the slavery question in this city, which need ventilation. Our city jail is crowded with fugitive slaves. They are without claimants, and many of them doubtless once belonged to men now in the rebel ranks. One of them certainly did, for his late master was John A. Washington, of the Mount Vernon estate. By what statute these slaves are kept in the United States jail, no one seems to know. They are put and kept there by a Republican marshal, and it is a well-known fact that prominent officeholders here hold that the late Confiscation Act does not free the negroes who come under its operation, but simply turns them over from rebel masters to the United States government—the government owning them. According to these theorists, the people of the North have become slaveholders in the act of Congress, and it rests with them, through Congress, to decree the fate of the confiscated slaves, whether they shall be sold at auction or freed. This is not the view the men who made the law took, nor will any anti-slavery court make any such decision; but under these mistaken views, shameful injustice is done a number of colored men now lying in the United States jail, and kept there by authority of a Republican Administration. Slaves are also continually returned to claimants *from camp*, and files of soldiers often are seen escorting a fugitive back to his master, or to the district jail. These outrages must and will have an end.—*Wash. Cor. Independent.*

# Summary.

SENTIMENT OF THE VIRGINIA SLAVE.—"I'se goin' to de-camp."

Mr. John S. Rock, a colored gentleman, recently admitted to the Boston bar, has been appointed a Justice of the Peace for the County of Suffolk.

COST OF MUSIC.—The Secretary of War is becoming impatient with the expense of bands of music for the army, as it already amounts to a sum that will make this single item of expenditure $4,000,000 a year.

FROM WASHINGTON.

Political filth fills our city—
It should not by us be endured,
For we know (now don't call me witty)
Our country is thoroughly *sewered*.

PROGRESS OF THE AGE.—While Prof. Tribus was in Mobile, he had but little to say to the negroes. He was on one occasion greeted by a slave, with a countenance beaming with joy, "Well, Massa Tribus, wot you fink ob de Linkum war?" He replied, "Well, George, I don't know; what do you think?" "Law! Massa Tribus, me tinks cibilization am progressing."

"NOT AT HOME," WITH A DIFFERENCE.—Gentleman: "Is Mrs. M. in?" "No, sir, she is not at home." Gentleman: "Well, I am sorry, as I owe her some money, and have called to pay it." Voice from over the balustrades: "O, I am in. To be sure I am. Why, Sally, didn't you know that? Ask the gentleman in."

SLAVE INSURRECTION.—A dispatch from St. Louis, dated Sept. 8th, says: "Information has been received here that about three weeks ago a slave insurrection was attempted in Jasper County, and that about thirty-five of the negroes were killed, and a number of others were to be hanged. The discovery of the plot proved that the insurrection was widespread, and that the slaves intended to murder their masters and perpetrate all manner of barbarities."

The colored prostitutes of Charleston, S. C., subscribed $450 for the Southern Confederacy. The Young Men's Christian Association cheerfully accepted it. Per contra—the *ladies* of King street organized a "Soldiers' Aid Society," and to carry out its objects one of the members "went the rounds up Main street and collected $22! for which they return their warmest thanks."

SERFDOM IN RUSSIA.—M. de Brischen contributes an article on Serfdom, to a recent number of the London *Journal of the Statistical Society*, in which he states that the number of serfs in Russia, at the commencement of 1859, was no less than 22,563,086, which is considerably more than one-third of the whole population (61,129,480). This startling disproportion is, however, distanced by the contrast with the number of owners of these serfs, viz: 106,897 proprietors.

CHURCH MUSIC.—In a timely and eloquent discourse delivered by a clergyman of this city, the preacher, in illustrating some of the prejudices which have existed on the subject of music in churches, spoke of a very religious old lady, who, when asked her opinion of the organ of a church, the first time she had seen or heard one, replied: "It is a very pretty box of whistles; but, oh! it is an awful way of spending the Sabbath!"—*Boston Transcript.*

A SPUNKY TENANT.—A late London paper contains the following advertisement:

"A gentleman who is about to leave the house in which he resides, and being desirous to return it to his landlord in the same condition in which he found it, will pay a fair price for five hundred full grown rats, an acre of poisonous weeds, and a car-load of rubbish; the weeds to be planted in the garden, the rubbish left on the door step, and the rats suffered to run loose through the house. Address, etc."

A COSTLY REBELLION TO HOLDERS OF SLAVE PROPERTY IN MISSOURI.—A Leavenworth paper says it has information to the effect that one hundred slaves leave Missouri every day for Kansas. At this rate, should this rebellion hold on for a year or so, it will need no emancipation proclamation to make Missouri a free State. In fact, her "manifest destiny" is already clearly foreshadowed. So much for secession in Missouri.

UNITARIAN AUTUMNAL CONVENTION.—The Committee for the Autumnal Convention have arranged for it in Boston, Dec. 15th, 16th, 17th. At the last session, on Thursday forenoon, they propose to make a religious conference of free counsel, exhortation and prayer on "Our Christian Duty in the Nation's Hour," closing at noon with the administration of the Lord's Supper.

COLORED MEN IN WAR.

# Miscellaneous Department.

## A BATTLE-CRY!

Sons of Freedom, rise once more
'Gainst a foe upon our shore,
Deadlier than all foes of yore;
Down with Slavery!

Slavery's hounds are on your track,
Hungry, fierce, and vengeful pack;
Send them howling, hell-ward back.
Down with Slavery!

See your sons by Slavery slain,
Shed their blood like summer rain:
Shall their blood be shed in vain?
Down with Slavery!

God directing every blow,
Strike with all the strength ye know,
Lay the bloody Moloch low;
Down with Slavery!

When war's awful thunder rolls,
And the heavens are livid scrolls,
'Tis no time for coward souls;
Down with Slavery!

Let no fear your faces blanch,
But, like Alpine avalanche,
Overwhelming root and branch,
Down with Slavery!

Until Slavery vanquished be,
Peace our land can never see,
Nor can we ourselves be free;
Down with Slavery!

Till it pierce the very sky,
Reaching to God's throne on high,
Let us shout our Battle-cry:
Down with Slavery!

—*Paterson (N. J.) Guardian.*

## *A LETTER FROM MRS. CHILD.*

TO "OUR JESSIE."

THIS is a familiar phrase, and had a pleasant sound years gone by; but I, who am slow to adopt popular shibboleths, have never had it come home into my heart till these latter times. Now I see you forsaking elegant drawing-rooms for the fatigue and privations of a camp; zealously devoting your rare talents and accomplishments to the service of your imperilled country; doubling the indomitable energy and unwearied industry of your noble husband, by adding to them your own; sympathizing with his large and liberal feelings; and by your full appreciation and cordial approbation confirming him in all high principles of freedom, justice and humanity. Seeing you thus, my heart spontaneously repeats the old popular phrase, and affectionately greets you as "*our* Jessie," the hem of whose garment I would stoop to kiss. The wife who thus cooperates with her husband in all his best endeavors and loftiest aims fulfils the prophecy of the poet:

"Woman sets herself to man,
Like perfect music unto noble words."

In the name of the womanhood which she adorns, I thank "our Jessie."

In view of your able and prompt adaptation to the present momentous crisis, I cordially thank you both. Though personally unacquainted, I have heard much of you from those who know you well, and, unless I mistake the elements of your characters, you are individuals made for times like these—"of such stuff as they use to make *storm* stay-sails."

The crisis calls aloud for such souls. All feel the need of strong men and energetic measures; though few even begin to comprehend the vast import of this struggle, and the immeasurable influence its result will have, for good or evil, upon all our own posterity and upon the world at large. If we rightly exert the power which God has put into our hands, this may prove the last great battle, in open field, between the forces of Despotism and the forces of Freedom. The Christian world is watching the combat with a more or less defined consciousness of this truth. Enlightened statesmen, as well as upright moralists, everywhere perceive that this is no mere sectional or party strife. They universally recognize it as the collision of *antagonistic principles*, producing a projectile force which is to throw this country into the orbit of a new era. And those among ourselves who have the deepest insight and the most sober thought are painfully aware that this is one of those rare and solemn moments, sent of God, when men are called on

"To decide,
In the strife of Truth with Falsehood, for the good or evil side.
This great cause, God's *new* Messiah, offers us the bloom or blight;
And our choice goes by forever 'twixt the darkness and the light."

How strangely blinded are those who can see in this grand epoch only a game of temporary expediency for selfish politicians to exercise their cunning upon! The enthusiasm of the people is real. Their wishes are honest and true, though often imperfectly defined. They love their country, and are willing to make large sacrifices for the sake of seeing it become truly great, united and free. In their patriotic minds there has been always a dim but unpleasant consciousness that our national boastings had something of falseness, and must needs sound hollow in the ears of the world. The present crisis has brought this latent feeling into recognized existence and universal expression. The earnest wish of the people, spontaneously expressed in cars and dépôts, by the fireside and the roadside, is to have their beloved country really and entirely free. How it will be brought about they cannot foresee; but they have faith that this war is destined to accomplish the salutary work, and with that expectation they are anxiously watching the signs of the times. They have been educated to respect law, and as "iniquity has been framed into a law," the moral sense of many has been obscured by the fog necessarily arising from such circumstances. But the fog clears at once in the presence of unlooked for events, which bring with them undoubted legal power to abolish the iniquity. They take fresh courage, rejoicing in this light, which God has flashed upon the nation in the uproar of a storm.

Can this mighty pulsation of the popular heart prove all for nought? It would be dowright atheism to think so, for never has the hand of God been so signally manifested in the course of human affairs. Seldom, indeed, does it happen in a war that one of the contending parties can secure victory and speedy peace by a measure which will also prove a real and permanent benefit to the defeated party. Seldom is the chance offered to any people to obey the dictates of justice and the impulses of humanity towards millions of oppressed fellow creatures, and thereby save for themselves an immense amount of bloodshed and expense, while they secure incalculable advantages to posterity, throughout the whole length and breadth of the land. This country will have to pass through shameful stages of degeneracy, leading to a terrible ordeal of suffering in the future, if we blindly and recklessly throw away the glorious opportunity for atonement which the Divine Ruler has placed within our reach. The masses are easily misled by selfish, artful men, in times of political excitement, because their honest simplicity is duped by false professions; but when there is a real "Uprising of a Great People," the voice of the populace is the voice of God, because it is the indwelling God that speaks through them. The American people now give general indications that they are roused from their long drowsiness to a "wide-awake" conviction that "Righteousness exalteth a nation, and sin is a reproach to any people." They believe, with the sublime prophet of the olden time, that "The work of righteousness shall be peace; and the *effect* of righteousness quietness, and assurance forever."

Politicians never understand great impulses, and never have faith enough to make use of them. Instead of taking a wide, comprehensive view, they look downward to their own game, studying how to checkmate each other; and this they sometimes continue to do long after the concussions of an earthquake have sent kings, castles and knights, all reeling out of the positions in which they had so carefully and cunningly placed them. The earthquake was no part of their programme. What are they to do with it? They can see nothing better than to busy themselves with resetting the capsized kings, castles and knights in their old places, and striving to make them "stay put," that they may again go on comfortably with their game.

"We see dimly in the present what is small and what is great:
Slow of faith, how weak an arm may turn the iron helm of fate!
But the soul is still oracular; amid the market's din,
List the ominous stern whisper from the Delphic cave within:
'They enslave their children's children who make compromise with sin.'"

I have read of a Hindoo woman who belonged to a sect that worshipped crocodiles. Believing the hideous animals to be gods in disguise, she took one into her dwelling, and petted it till it was tame enough to feed from her hand. She felt sure that the presence of this disguised deity would bring blessings on her house. The monster grew in size, and devoured more and more, till one day it ate up her child. Her idolatry was not at all changed by this event. She maintained that the ugly deity *had* brought b'essings on her house. Exultingly she asked: "What honor or benefit could have been conferred on my child equal to that of being eaten by a god, and thus becoming part and portion of his sacred form?"

This is the extremest case of infatuated idolatry I have ever known, except that which has been manifested in the unlimited indulgence and submissive tenderness of the United States government toward its pet crocodile—slavery. The ravenous beast has become so odious in the eyes of the rest of the world, that nation after nation have driven him from their shores, considering it well worth a large expenditure of money to get quit of a monster it cost so much to support, and whose violent behavior brought all its protectors into danger and disrepute. Though this movement of the nations proved a good business transaction, besides adding immensely to the sum of human happiness, the United States has persevered in a totally different policy. It continued to feed its pet with pap; it constantly widened its range; it tightly enclosed within its reach millions of men, women and children, for it to grind in its bloody jaws; if a few of its wretched victims escaped, servants were sent to drive them back at the point of the bayonet; and the humane were forbidden to interfere in their behalf on peril of fine and imprisonment. Thus pampered, the gormandizing monster grew ever stronger and stronger, more and more rapacious, and, withal, very sly and treacherous to the hand that fostered it so carefully. But the huger and more violent it became, the more deferentially it was treated. So the great wide-jawed brute has gone on increasing in bulk and rapacity, ever lying in wait in our midst, mounted on logs of its own color, crawling about in all sorts of invisible places, changing its element as suited its convenience, and, whether on land or water, grabbing everything it wanted. It will devour our children if it continues to be petted. But then, is it not a god? Will not our children be blest if they become incorporated with it—part and portion of its divine being? Its keepers have of late given us reiterated assurances that it would be so, and have earnestly recommended us to consent to have them devoured.

But there is a large and ever-increasing class who consider this doctrine a baneful superstition. Few of them dare to speak of expelling the monster from our domains, and those who have done so have been exposed to constant thrashings from its far-reaching tail. But many have ventured to suggest that it would be a wise precaution to set bounds to its mischief by fencing it in. It required a great deal of courage to urge the expediency of such a measure. They did it in terms of polite expostulation; they agreed to leave a very wide area for it to drag its slime over undisturbed, with a hundred thousand babies a-year for it to eat, besides millions of grown men and women, who would be diligently driven back if they attempted to escape. Notwithstanding these liberal terms, the mere proposal to limit its ravages has thrown the bloody monster into such a furious rage that it plunges about in the most frantic manner, crunching our people and our ships in its ruthless jaws. The eagle of the United States watches these ferocious proceedings, but hesitates to pounce. His portrait represents him with arrows in his claws, but he lays them aside and puts on velvet gloves when he approaches the precious pet. Perhaps it will get over its wrath, and graciously consent to be petted again. It is such a valuable creature, and brings us so much honor, it would be a pity to hurt it.

For my own part, I have not the slightest faith in the divinity of this foul, lazy creature, that lives by eating women and babies. To my mental vision it is simply a beast—a very deformed, obscene, thievish, gluttonous and cruel beast. Therefore I live in hopes that, before it destroys every good thing in the country, some St. George will be sent, strong and courageous enough to spear the desolating dragon. I would have blazoned, in characters brilliant as the sunshine, this motto: "The Slaves are henceforth Free Men." *That* battle-cry has the ring of true metal. By that we shall be saved. But, as a nation, are we *worth* saving? Time will show whether we have virtue enough left in us to appreciate and seize the great chance so wonderfully presented to us.

If this country ever does truly become the "land of the free"—if we are ever all ransomed, all redeemed from this most accursed thraldom—then our "Star-spangled Banner" will, indeed, be the genuine emblem of universal liberty and equal justice. Looming above the dispersing smoke of battle, it will look more lovely than the rainbow after a tempest. The good and the true everywhere will greet it with whole-hearted enthusiasm. So glorious will it be in its transfigured beauty that angels might wave it from the battlements of heaven, while all their golden harps rang to the joyful chorus: "The great battle of Armageddon has been fought and won by the hosts of heaven—Glory! Hallelujah!"

Still hoping and praying for this grand result of all the sacrifices and sufferings of the people, I will strive to await in patience the development of events, carrying ever in my heart a fervent benediction for "our Jessie" and her brave husband, and for all souls who are kindred with them. L. MARIA CHILD.

## *THE WOMEN AND THE SOLDIERS.*

From The Evening Post.

THE splendors of our woods—as if our gorgeous sunset had fallen from heaven to earth, and were reposing among the masses of summer foliage—remind us of the darker change which is impending over this our Northern climate. Nature hangs these glorious banners on her "outward wall" to forewarn us of the wintry conflict which must come, and she grants us a genial truce that we may not lack time for full preparation. In other years the fall of the leaf suggested renewed efforts in behalf of the poor of our cities, who live careless as grasshoppers during the summer months, and only begin with the first frosts to ask how they are to be sustained through the winter. They will doubtless need help as much as ever, and find it, unstinted; for want of charity to the helpless and suffering finds no place in the catalogue of our national sins. Freely have we received, freely we give, and thus be it ever. Our silver and our gold is little cankered with withholding.

The poor we have with us always. But in this year of our Lord 1861 there is another class of persons for whom not only duty and sympathy bespeak our tenderest care, but patriotism, justice, and gratitude. Our soldiers in the camp, field, and hospital, require not our money merely, but our time, our thoughts, our personal exertion. Some of them might, in ordinary years, have been found among our poor at home; for there is many a poor fellow in the ranks who carried with him from home only a sorry bundle, and left behind wife and children no better supplied. For these we must have cared, at any rate; it is doubly necessary now. Thousands of others have left good business and comfortable establishments, families who had never known want or even separation, and prospects which this war has blighted. To these we are solemnly pledged, and pledged far more than money can buy. Money is forthcoming; the government, in a late appeal to the people for aid, offers to *buy* blankets of private citizens who can spare part of the covering of their own beds, to secure the troops against the rigors of the coming season, and the disease that must follow under exposure. The public supply falls short; private sympathy must fill the gap till more can be made.

Nor is the blanket the only necessity of the moment. That is the special safeguard of the night in the tent and field. But the sick in hospital can use the old domestic substitute for blankets—the cheaper quilt and comforter, made of old calico, well lined with wool or cotton batting. No housewife but can make and give one or more of these, especially as the "single" size is required, not the wide kind which fits a double bed. In addition to these, hospital clothing is asked; shirts and drawers made of canton flannel, or any other soft and warm cloth. These should be very large and loose, so that wounds can be dressed without the necessity of tearing and destroying the clothing. Whatever appertains to the care of wounds, whether lint, bandages, old rags, ring-cushions, small pillows, oiled silk, heavy sewing silk, or what not, is also requested, and a direct appeal for all these things comes from the Sanitary Commission, with the express and public sanction of the President and Gen. Scott, "to the LOYAL WOMEN of the United States," who will, without doubt, willingly and effectually respond. Woollen socks are asked for, and, although the new wonder, the "seamless stocking," is now made by the hundred thousand, and the entire product of the manufacture for some time has been secured by Col. Vinton for the supply of the army, there will be use, too, for all that busy home needles can fashion, the soldier having no careful hand at his call to arrest the fleeting stitch, and with one save nine. Another product of female ingenuity, called for by doctors and nurses, is the carpet-slipper, soft and noiseless; a bedside friend for the invalid, whose heavy brogans are worse than useless in the hospital.

But it would be needless to go further into particulars. The richly-laden boxes and overflowing bags which daily darken the doors and engage the indefatigable hands of the ladies at the "Women's Central Relief" rooms, No. 10 Cooper Institute, bear witness that the loyal women of the United States wait for no urging on the part of the authorities. Every town and hamlet has sent its quota, and is busy in preparing another; societies, social circles, reading clubs, all are busy. The new demand may awaken fresh effort, but it falls on hearts already warm and willing. The circular just sent forth gives ample and particular directions for the sending, and to observe these carefully is necessary, in order to avoid delay and sometimes loss. Every possible precaution is taken by those to whom the precious contributions are committed for distribution, to make each article tell on the comfort and welfare of the soldier. No stewardship was ever more sacredly administered; and when the history of this war comes to be written, it will be found that to the quiet workers behind the scenes its final success has been largely owing.

## A YANKEE SOLDIER'S SONG.

I HEARKENED to the thund'ring noise,
And wondered what 'twas for, sir;
But when I heard 'em tell our boys,
I started up and swore, sir.
Yankee boys will fight it out!
Yankees brave and handy!
Freedom be our battle-shout!
Yankee doodle dandy!

They said that traitors tore our flag,
Down there in Dixie's land, sir;
I always loved the striped rag,
And swore by it to stand, sir.
Yankee boys will fight it out! etc.

I knew them Southern chaps, high bred,
Had called us "mud-sills" here, sir;
If on these sills they try to tread,
I guess 'twill cost them dear, sir.
Yankee boys will fight it out! etc.

Down South I marched, rat-tat-a plan,
With heart brim full of pluck, sir;
I held my head up like a man;
A righteous cause brings luck, sir.
Yankee boys will fight it out! etc.

So proud was I of fatherland,
Where humans all are free, sir,
I found it hard to understand
Some things I lived to see, sir.
Yankee boys will fight it out! etc.

To us one day a brown man came,
In Dixie's land a slave, sir,
And pleaded hard, in freedom's name,
That him we'd try to save, sir.
Yankee boys will fight it out! etc.

Of course we will, our men cried out:
All free beneath this flag, sir!
Then he began, with hearty shout,
To cheer the starry rag, sir.
Yankee boys will fight it out! etc.

But, whip in hand, a master came,
And drove that man away, sir:
We felt it was a burning shame,
But could not have our say, sir.
Yankee boys will fight it out! etc.

To us it seems a coward's shirk;
It makes us feel less brave, sir;
We call it mean and "mud-sill" work,
This sending back a slave, sir!
Yankee boys will fight it out! etc.

We did not leave our homes to do
Such dirty jobs as these, sir;
Our hearts within us, warm and true,
It chills and makes 'em freeze, sir.
Yankee boys will fight it out! etc.

The man who works with heart is strong;
And right keeps up the pluck, sir;
We cannot feel so bold for wrong;
We cannot hope for luck, sir.
Yankee boys will fight it out! etc.

We long to have our flag unfurled
To make the *whole* land free, sir;
For we can proudly face the world,
When we that day shall see, sir.
Yankee boys will fight it out! etc.

O, how we'll hail our banner then!
Its fame all clear and bright, sir!
When all can feel that they are men,
And all have equal right, sir.
Yankee boys will fight it out!
Yankees brave and handy!
Freedom be our battle shout!
Yankee doodle dandy!

## *THE TIME FOR NATIONAL DELIVERANCE.*

BY WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON.

WHILE no change has been made in the letter or spirit of the Constitution of the United States, or in the disposition of the government faithfully to execute all its provisions, the slaveholding South, with a few questionable exceptions, has proclaimed, and is vigorously carrying on, war against the government, repudiated its allegiance to the Constitution, withdrawn from the Union, and organized a Southern Confederacy, claiming its recognition as an independent nation by all foreign powers. On the other hand, the government is seeking, with all the military and naval power within its command, to maintain its authority upon the original basis.

We are in entire agreement with the government, that the course pursued by the Southern Confederates has been marked, throughout, by the blackest perfidy, the most revolting barbarity, the fiercest despotism, and the most hateful treason. Having always shaped the policy and controlled the action of the government until the election of Mr. Lincoln, they had nothing to complain of as inimical to their slaveholding designs. Without waiting even for his inauguration, and under an administration of their own choosing, they broke their plighted faith, and dissolved the Union in violence and blood. It is unnecessary to recapitulate their atrocities, or to show how utterly inexcusable they are, before heaven and earth, for whatever they have done or attempted. They are not only wholly undeserving of sympathy or forbearance, but they justly merit the indignant condemnation of the civilized world as peerless in their iniquity.

It is certain, however, that this explosion is in the nature of things, according to the law of righteous retribution and eternal justice, and finds its source in the existence of slavery at the South. The old Union is so widely sundered that it borders upon lunacy for the present Administration to suppose that it can ever again be restored upon its original conditions, bad as they were, respecting the millions held in bondage. The South may possibly be conquered by the Federal forces, but a standing army will be required in every one of the Confederate States to secure the enforcement of any law of Congress, or to protect those who are loyal to the government, in their persons or property in that section. What, then, is the alternative? It is, first, to carry on the war, at an immense sacrifice of blood and treasure, for an indefinite period, and without any prospect of amicable adjustment or willing submission; or, second, to acknowledge the independence of the Southern Confederacy; or, third, to make it possible speedily to end the war, to uphold the government, and to preserve the Union for the purposes of freedom and free institutions, by abolishing slavery on the ground of necessity, if not from convictions of justice, under the war power. To the first alternative, none of sound mind will give consent. To the second, few who believe in the duty of the government to suppress treason, at whatever cost, will readily accede. Must not the last, then, be adopted, however reluctantly? and to induce the government to proclaim freedom to all, is it not the duty of every lover of his country to demand that it lose no time in proclaiming universal emancipation?

Whence originates the present rebellion? In the slaveholding States, and in the system of slavery. The active conspirators are all slaveholders. Jefferson Davis, Alexander H. Stephens, all the members of the Confederate Cabinet, all the prominent officers in the Confederate army, not only hold slaves, but are zealous for the universal extension of slave institutions. Had they not been slaveholders, they would not have been guilty of high treason. Slavery abolished, every Southern State would immediately come under the conditions of freedom as they exist at the North, and these produce equality of rights and privileges, free institutions of every kind, and consequent security and prosperity. No peculiarity of soil or climate, no geographical distance, no diversity of industrial labor and enterprise, have ever caused any serious divisions or dangerous rivalries among the free States. Their blood, their pulsations, their aspirations, their instincts, their necessities, their methods of development, are essentially identical. The manufacturing and commercial East and the agricultural West feel no jealousy of each other, but, on the contrary, are made harmonious by the law of elective affinity. Not so with the South: with one-third of her population deprived of their natural rights, and owned as property by a haughty and insolent oligarchy, she has, from the beginning, been factious, belligerent, domineering, and contemptuously defiant toward the North—tolerating the connection only because she has been able, through her bullying and perfidy, to so far subjugate the latter as to succeed in shaping the policy of government, according to her desires, until recently. At the formation of the Constitution, the "irrepressible conflict" between the free and slave elements strongly exhibited itself—comparatively few as were the slaves, and notwithstanding there was not then raised a bale of cotton in all the South to be thrown into the scale adversely to freedom. The world knows what insane attempts were then made, through compromise, to circumvent God, and prevent the operations of his eternal laws. The slaveholding delegates, animated by the spirit of oppression, and disregarding the claims of justice and the dictates of humanity—to quote the language of John Quincy Adams—"refused their subscription to the parchment till it should be SATURATED WITH THE INFECTION OF SLAVERY, WHICH NO FUMIGATION COULD PURIFY, NO QUARANTINE COULD EXTINGUISH. *The free men of the North gave way*, AND THE DEADLY VENOM OF SLAVERY WAS INFUSED INTO THE CONSTITUTION OF FREEDOM." Thus was made the "covenant with death," and thus "with hell were they at agreement"—imagining, in their fatuity, that, henceforth, all troubles would be ended; that when the overflowing scourge should pass through, it would not come nigh unto them, for they had made lies their refuge, and under falsehood had they hid themselves. But now the refuge of lies is swept away, and the waters overflow the hiding-place, and God is "doing his work, his strange work, and bringing to pass his act, his strange act." "Wherefore the Lord said, Forasmuch as this people draw near me with their mouth, and with their lips do honor me, but have removed their heart far from me, and their fear toward me is taught by the precept of men; therefore, behold, I will proceed to do a marvellous work among the people, even a marvellous work, and a wonder; for the wisdom of their wise men shall perish, and the understanding of their prudent men shall be hid. Woe unto them that seek deep to hide their counsel from the Lord, and their works are in the dark, and they say, Who seeth us? and who knoweth us? Surely, your turning of things upside down shall be esteemed as the potter's clay."

The Constitution of the United States should never have been adopted with its slavery-upholding provisions. No such Union should have been formed, or assented to, or carried out. It was "cursed with a curse" as soon as made; and now has come the day of visitation to the whole land. As a people, we have despised the word of the living God, and "trusted in oppression and perverseness," and sought to stay thereon; and for this, divine justice is now impartially meted out. Yet, happily, there is a way of escape, and there shall be mercy mingled with judgment, if we will but break every yoke, and let the captive millions go free. The slaveholders of the South are, with few exceptions, in hot rebellion against the government, have trampled upon all their constitutional obligations, and joined themselves to a hostile confederacy, and, therefore, have voluntarily relinquished whatever guaranties were accorded to them as loyal supporters of the Constitution. What claim has their slave property to any consideration on the part of the government? Have they not involved the country in a war, the pecuniary burdens of which must heavily press upon coming generations, as well as upon the living (1)—to say nothing of the blood that has been shed, and that yet remains to be poured out like water? Have they not already captured scores of defenceless merchantmen, and are they not trying with their piratical cruisers to sweep from the ocean every Northern ship sailing under the national flag? Have they not lawlessly seized all the ships, fortifications, arsenals, custom-houses, and mints within their confederate domains belonging to the government, and confiscated Northern property and released Southern ihdebtedness to the extent of hundreds of millions of dollars? Are they not actively using their slaves to carry on their treasonable designs, and boasting of their villany in this particular? And are they not placing the Capital in a state of siege, and threatening it with such forces as to cause the utmost anxiety of mind as to what a day may bring forth?

Having, then, not only forfeited all claim to constitutional protection, but subjected themselves to the penalty of death as traitors—having perpetrated every outrage and sought to inflict every injury in their power—they can make no just complaint if the war power is exercised against their slave possessions (which are also stolen possessions) to the fullest extent. Did Heaven ever before vouchsafe to any government, in time of war, such an opportunity to strike its enemies in their most vulnerable point, without malice or cruelty, and for the grandest and most beneficent ends? And now we say to President Lincoln and his Cabinet advisers:

"When for the sighing of the poor,
And for the needy, God has risen,
And chains are breaking, and a door
Is opening for the souls in prison;
If then ye would, with puny hands,
Arrest the very work of Heaven,
*And bind anew the evil bands*
Which God's right arm of power hath riven"—

if, instead of delivering the oppressed, and executing judgment, ye would leave them in chains in the hope and with the design of renewing the ancient "covenant with death and agreement with hell," your damnation will be equally sure and just! *To refuse to deliver those captive millions who are now legally in your power, is tantamount to the crime of their original enslavement;* and their blood shall a righteous God require at your hands. Put the trump of jubilee to your lips! Then shall

"The grain grow green on battle-plains,
O'er swarded war-mounds graze the cow;
The slave stand forging from his chains
The spade and plough.

Where frowns the fort, pavilions gay,
And cottage windows, flower-entwined,
Look out upon the peaceful bay,
And hills behind."

* * * * *

So much for the slaves belonging to the Southern traitors. As to the "loyal" slaveholders, it is evident that they constitute a very small minority—so small as scarcely to be perceivable. Excepting Delaware, whose whole slave population is not larger than may be found on a single estate at the South, there is not a loyal slave State in the Union—not one. Maryland, Kentucky, Missouri, what of these? True, they have not yet in form joined the Southern Confederacy, neither are they loyal to the government. In them all, the secession spirit is in the ascendant, and in open rebellion, more or less rampant, and only held in check by the potency and presence of Federal bayonets! It is still very doubtful whether they can much longer be kept even partially subjugated. But, without waiting to ascertain how many genuine cases of slaveholding loyalty exist, they can easily be disposed of by allowing them the market value of their slaves, not as a recognition of the claim to property in man, but in order to facilitate a satisfactory solution of the difficulties in which they are involved, to make the work of emancipation effectual through its universality, and so to bring this desolating and sanguinary war to a speedy termination. Losing nothing by such an arrangement, they will have nothing to complain of, even from the low plane of their pecuniary selfishness.

(1) Here are some items for grave consideration:

"In estimating the amount of the debt to be created by the war, some of the journals have fixed it at only five hundred millions. The debt on the 15th December will amount to about three hundred and eleven millions, and at the present rate of expenditure it will be seven hundred and fifty millions one year from that date. Should peace be made at any time upon *the basis of the old Union*, the public debt of the Confederate States *must also fall upon the General government.* The war debt of each party to the conflict is likely to reach a very respectable amount, even should we have an early peace."

"The estimated value of Yankee property in Virginia, confiscated by the rebels, amounts to thirty millions."

"Isaac Davenport, of Richmond, has given ten thousand dollars he owed to Northerners to the rebel Commissioners."

## TO THE COMMANDER IN MISSOURI.

I.

THY voice, FREMONT, hath broke the fatal spell!
Now all the wizards may, with busy hand,
Wave, to renew it, each his ancient wand,
Potent erewhile to thrall in bondage fell
The faith that in the nation's soul doth dwell—
Potent no more forever—we are free!
Questioned by one heroic touch from thee,
The nation's heart rings out—as if a bell
In heaven, by some archangel smitten now,
Did, as a signal, through the azure say,
"A damning stain from earth is washed away,
And she henceforth shall wear a whiter brow
Joyous among the stars." And, Hero, thou
Art as a star preluding light of day.

II.

O eye, thou canst discern the cloud and flame!
O eagle spirit, fit for high career!
True thou continuest to thine early fame,
And art, as erst, the People's Pioneer,
Across the desert teaching it to steer;
Mid all the terrors of our time, the same
As when through mountain cloud-rack, void of fear,
Thou held'st toward lands of gold high-hearted aim.
O'er darker desert now and craggier peak
Stormed on, alas, with a more blinding snow,
And buffeted by winds more bitter bleak,
Thine eye, thy footstep must before us go
To lands with joy of justice all aglow—
To lands of which all hopes and prophets speak.

D. A. WASSON.

## *ECCENTRIC HOSPITALITY.*

DURING the American War of 1812, a soldier who had been wounded and honorably discharged, being destitute and benighted, knocked at the door of an Irish farmer, when the following dialogue ensued:

*Patrick*—And who the devil are you, now?

*Soldier*—My name is Mr. John Wilson.

*P*—And where the devil are you going from, John Wilson?

*S*—From the American army at Erie, sir.

*P*—And what do you want here?

*S*—Will you permit me to spread my blanket on your floor and sleep there to-night?

*P*—Divil take me if I do, John Wilson.

*S*—On your kitchen floor, sir?

*P*—Not I, by the Hill o' Howth.

*S*—In your stable, then?

*P*—I will be hanged if I do that, aither.

*S*—I'm dying with hunger. Give me a bone and a crust; I will ask no more.

*P*—Divil blow me if I do, sir.

*S*—Give me some water to quench my thirst, I beg of you.

*P*—Beg and be hanged; I'll do no such thing.

*S*—Sir, I have been fighting to secure the blessings you now enjoy; can you so inhospitably reject me from your home?

*P*—Reject you! Who the divil talked about rejecting you? May be I am not the scurvy spalpeen you take me to be, John Wilson. You asked me to let you lie on my floor, my kitchen floor, or my stable. Now, by the powers! d'ye think I'd do that, when I have a dozen soft beds all empty? Now, by the Hill o' Howth, John, that I won't. In the second place, you told me you were dying of hunger, and wanted a bone and a crust to eat. Now, honey, d'ye think I'd feed a hungry man on bones and crust, when my yard is full of pullets, and turkeys and pigs? No, by the powers! not I, that's flat. In the third place, you ask me for some simple water to quench your thirst. Now, as my water is none of the best, I never offer it to a poor traveller without mixing it with plenty of wine. Come into my house, honey; divil blow me, but you shall sleep in the best bed I have; you shall have the best supper and breakfast that my farm can supply; you shall drink as much as you like, provided you mix it with plenty of wine. It shall never be said that I treated a man scurvily, who has been fighting for the dear country which gave me a free home.

## THE POOR CONTRABAND.

[ABOUT two weeks ago, a colored man who had escaped from the South appeared at the door of a house on the farm of a gentleman near us. He was an old young man—no light on his countenance—no joy in his heart. His back was covered with scars in welts, the effect of cruel beatings. One of his front teeth had been knocked out by an angry and unprovoked blow of his master, and both of his thumbs had been put out of joint by thumb-screws. His former master is a rebel in arms, and the contraband had been employed in throwing up rebel entrenchments. His regular rations, though a hard working field hand, had been a peck of Indian meal, a pound of salt pork, and a quart of molasses per week! Knowing no guide but the north star, he determined to make an effort to gain his liberty. He travelled by night and concealed himself by day. Unripe apples and green corn, plucked stealthily, formed his only food. While crossing Maryland he was pursued and fired upon; but at last, wearied, famished and foot-sore, he reached the house to which we have referred, and the poor "contraband," with tears rolling down his cheeks, declared that he felt, for the first time in his life, that he had been in a home. This simple narrative has suggested the following lines.]

FAINT, toilworn, and famished, I come to your door,
Harsh bondage behind me, sweet freedom before!
Oh pardon the tears falling hot on your hand,
As you welcome so kindly the poor "contraband."
You ask for my story. Shall I tell how I lay
Concealed in the woods through the wearisome day;
Close hid in my hole, how I trembled with fear,
As I heard the hoarse voice of the hard overseer;
How I anxiously longed for the blackness of night
To curtain and cover my perilous flight?
How I watched the blue sky, till it clearly shone forth,
Sure guide of my pathway, bright Star of the North!
Now onward, straight onward, my footsteps I press'd,
As the bee to its cell, the bird to her nest;
Oh! swift moves the foot, as it hurries along,
When it leaves far behind the chain and the thong.
Huge cornfields I crossed, all dropping with gold,
And swam the broad rivers with arms strong and bold.
Virginia's tall forests lay far in the rear,
But Maryland's plains I must furtively clear.
So hiding all day, in the night flying far,
It led me to freedom, that wonderful star!
Dark clouds may obscure it, and thick fogs may hide,
But the mists He has raised His hand will divide;
In a halo of glory it yet shall shine forth—
Sweet guide of my pathway, bright Star of the North!

—*Phil. North American and U. S. Gazette.*

## *ROSE-WATERY WAR.*

MR. WINTHROP'S speech, on presenting the flag to Col. Wilson's Regiment, was eloquently worded and delivered. It was after the regulation pattern, also, for it had the usual allusion to "our misguided Southern brethren!" misguided Davis! misguided Wigfall! misguided Martin Green! misguided Yancey! misguided Ben McCullough! misguided pirate captains, one and all! Throw away those ugly firelocks, with which you and your followers are shooting our pickets! Spike those cannon with which you are destroying our armies! Come to our fraternal arms, misguided men! Your Winthrop, your Seward, long to embrace you! Come! come! come! Col. Wilson has fallen into this same cant, to a certain extent. He says he don't hate the rebels. Well, they hate him, and the sooner he comes to hate them the better. Hate is the very thing we want; hate, on the Southern side, supplies the want of money, clothing, and munitions of war; when we hate the rebels as the rebels hate us, we shall soon make an end of it. And such hate as we ought to have is not incompatible with Christianity, if it is a Christian duty to maintain this government and our own rights and liberties. The most Christian army ever organized, perhaps, was Cromwell's, and it was composed of the best haters who ever got together. The Boston *Journal* says if we do a certain thing, "the people of the South will defend their homes and firesides to the last extremity." I reckon they intend to do that now; at least I have seen no evidence to the contrary. If they have got any extremity, in reserve for us, worse than is indicated by the burning of Hampton, the destruction of railroad bridges in Missouri, and the poisoning of victuals and drink, I should like to know what it is. At any rate, there is no indication that we shall compel them to extremities, if we have not already done so. The war, on our part, is growing more and more rose-watery every day. If we do so-and-so, *The Journal* says, "it will come to this, that we must subjugate or be subjugated." I apprehend there has been no other issue than this precise one for the past eleven months, and that our ill success results from the fact that we persistently refuse to see and recognize the fact. Right under this *Journal* paragraph from which I quote, as I find it in the *Herald*, there is an article, headed, "Barbarous Treatment of Federal Prisoners," in which it is stated that Capt. Allen, of the schooner Atwater, who was captured by a rebel craft called the Spray, was with his men subjected to all sorts of indignities and barbarities at Apalachicola, for a term of four months; left for three or four days at a time without food, and frequently threatened with death by his drunken captors. At Richmond he fared no better. Even *The Herald* comes to the conclusion that the rebels who came under Capt. Allen's observation are "the most cowardly and barbarous set of scoundrels in the world." Oh no! Only "misguided brethren—that is all. Reason with them! Send them a tract or two! Above all, don't meddle with their niggers! And be sure to abuse Charles Sumner if he dares to suggest that it may be well to take from such a set of scoundrels one of the most effective of their weapons against us.—*Bost. Cor. Springfield Republican.*

## *SUMNER AND SENNOTT.*

I WAS going to say you have no idea of the excitement we are in concerning Mr. Sumner's speech; but you read the newspapers attentively, and know all about it. Some people actually go so far as to say that the Senator quoted Langhorne's Plutarch wrongfully, and that now he has gone and mistranslated the original—all to serve his base purpose of bringing the Administration up to the emancipation scratch. And the assailants have been finally reinforced by George Sennott, who, *The Herald* says, has "completely demolished" Sumner. What an ignoble end for the Senator! Mike Walsh said that to be killed in the Florida war was about as glorious a death as being run over by a swill cart. Demolition by Sennott may fairly be added as a third glorious way of getting out of the world. But Sumner has been demolished so often that I think he may possibly survive Sennott. I never heard of a man being killed or seriously injured by making a false quotation or an unhappy classical allusion. Webster was convicted, by Horace Mann and Professor Beck, of ignorance of Latin in the matter of the "*captatores verborum.*" (I hope I have got it right, but am by no means sure;) but nobody ever supposed that it seriously injured him politically. For all that it is better to quote correctly. For my part I never venture in Latin and Greek beyond the words and phrases, proverbs and colloquial expressions in Webster and Worcester; and having Shakspeare, Sydney Smith, Hosea Biglow and Mother Goose always handy to furnish all the English illustrations I need, I seldom go astray in that line. Should I at any time slip, I beg you not to expose me. The best and most accurate of us all are liable to make mistakes, and the great authors, Shakspeare and Goose, have been so often and so shockingly amended, that it is difficult to tell which is the correct text.—*Bost. Cor. Springfield Republican.*

SWEARING FOR A FAMILY.—Rev. R. S. Maclay, for thirteen years a missionary in China, has written a book, in which he relates the following anecdote:

During one of our examinations of candidates for baptism at Ngukang, I observed that one woman and some three or four young people had the same surname. This circumstance led to the following conversation between myself and one of the young men:

"I observe you all have the same surname. Are you members of the same family?" I inquired.

"Yes," one replied, "this is mother, and these are my brothers."

"Where is your father?" I continued.

"He is at home, attending to business."

"Does he approve of your embracing Christianity?"

"Yes, he is entirely willing."

"Why does not your father himself become a Christian?"

"He says it would not answer for all the family to embrace Christianity."

"And why," I asked with some curiosity, "does he think so?"

"He says that if we all become Christians our heathen neighbors will take advantage of that circumstance to impose upon us."

"How will they do that?" I inquired.

"Christians are not allowed to swear or fight, and father says that when our wicked neighbors ascertain we have embraced Christianity they will proceed at once to curse and maltreat us. Hence father says to us: 'You may all become Christians, but I must remain a heathen, so as to retaliate on our bad neighbors. You can go to meeting and worship, but I must stay at home to do the cursing and fighting for the family.'"

FREEDOM IN SPAIN.—A decision of Marshal O'Donnell, Minister of War and the Colonies, published by the *Madrid Gazette*, and addressed to the Captain-general of Porto Rico, declares, in principle, that a slave who has touched the soil of Spain must be considered as emancipated, even without the consent of his former master. The Marshal's letter is thus worded:

"I have laid before the Queen the letter which your Excellency's predecessor addressed to the ministry of war and the colonies, dated the 27th of October, 1858, accompanying it, by way of proof, with the documents of the examination, relative to the slave Ruffino, who sold himself at the Havannah, after having resided for several years in the Peninsula, on which matter he solicited an explicit declaration relative to the royal order of the 29th of March, 1836, regulating the condition to which slaves from the Antilles are